The Russian Church

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BY

NICOLAS BRIAN-CHANINOV

Translated from the French by
WARRE B. WELLS

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

This Translation is made from "L'Église Russe," a volume of "La Vie Chrétienne," published by Bernard Grasset, Paris.

NIHIL OBSTAT:

GEORGIUS D. SMITH, S.T.D.,
Censor deputatus.

IMPRIMATUR:

EDM. CAN. SURMONT,
Vicarius generalis.

WESTMONASTERII,
die 20a Novembris, 1930.

Made and Printed in Great Britain

274.7
B849

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PREFACE

THE famous Metropolitan Macarius devoted thirteen volumes to a History of the Russian Church. I cannot attempt to emulate that example, and must limit myself to this short book. But for the purpose of estimating the position which the Russian Church occupies in the religious history of peoples, as well as the differences which distinguish her from others, we need only these essential elements of knowledge: a certain number of facts, a few decisive events, and some outstanding personalities who group and gather around them.

There remains what is most difficult of all to grasp: the religious feeling of the Russian people, or, as it is called among them, 'the Russian faith' (*rousskaia vera*). To describe this religious feeling we must have recourse not so much to the history of the Church properly so-called as to the history of certain circles which have always had only the loosest relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of their country, but which at the same time can give us helpful enlightenment on this subject. For it is one of the most striking facts in the whole religious history of Russia that there has always, or almost always, existed a sullen, latent antagonism between the religious feeling of the Russian people and the officially established Church.

In the same way as—long before Herbert Spencer formulated the theory in 1851—the Russian people assumed in the sphere of politics the right to ignore the State, so have they for centuries arrogated to themselves the right to ignore the official Church and her ministers.

Their Christianity, which is in essence purely evangelical, is opposed to all constraint, especially moral constraint; and their mystical idea of the equality of men inclines them against accepting a hierarchy in the sphere of religion. In short, the Church is conceived among them as a collective institution, in which clerics and laity should enjoy the same rights and have the same duties.

It is possible, if not probable, that in other circumstances, under other masters and especially other directors of conscience, the Russian people would have abandoned both their evangelical Christianity and their hatred of all constraint and moral discipline. But for a very long time there has existed between the Russian people and the rest of the Christian world an impassable wall, against which all the good intentions of those who in the course of centuries have sought to bring this great people into unity with the Church have shattered themselves.

How was this wall created? In the first place it was created by the policy of Poland, which, fearful of losing its hegemony over the Slav peoples following the Latin rite, perpetually embarrassed the relations of the Vatican with Muscovy. In the next place it was created by the claim of the Tsars and the Emperors to play the rôle of head of the Church, and by their refusal to admit limitations upon their rights as autocrats, anointed by the Lord.

But, despite the intransigent attitude which the Russian Church has officially adopted towards any idea of union with Rome, the hope that a time of perfect harmony and peace would some day come has never failed in Russia. It is to be found even in the words of the prayer which is offered every day by the voice of the priest, taken from the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom: 'Let us pray to God for peace on earth, for the good estate of the Holy Churches of God, and for the union of all.'

This is indeed only what one might expect, for as a matter of fact, as Father Pierling very properly points out in the first volume of his masterly work, *Russia and the Holy See*, 'one searches in vain for an exact date or an outstanding event which can be taken as marking the beginning of the separation between Russia and the centre of unity. It happened almost casually, without any violent disturbance or any serious reason, as a result of the submission of the Russian Hierarchy to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but without the Russians taking any part whatever in either the doctrinal or the political disputes of the Byzantines.'

We should not, therefore, allow ourselves to be disheartened by the appearance of things, or falter half-way along the road because it seems long and difficult. Let us rather read and mark those fine words which an eminent Russian theologian, the Arch-priest Maltzev, placed at the head of his Menologion: 'May God hasten the day when the venerable and ancient Churches of the West and the East may be united again in their first love, so that there may be accomplished that desire dear to the heart of the Redeemer in his last hour: "That they may all be one."'

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE EVANGELISATION OF RUSSIA

I

CHRISTIANITY was officially established in Russia through the medium of Byzantium at the end of the tenth century—to be exact, in 988–991.[1] Well in advance of that date, however, there had already been both individual and collective conversions: such, for example, as that of the Russian Princess Olga, widow of Prince Igor and regent of the principality of Kiev during the minority of her son Sviatoslav; and also that of a group of so-called 'Russian' knights, who were baptized by the Patriarch of Byzantium at Constantinople itself.[2]

From the end of the ninth century, moreover, there was in existence at Kiev a little Christian community, following the Greek rite, which had a church dedicated to the Prophet Elias, the Jewish-Christian saint *par excellence*. This church, according to the Russian Chronicle of Nestor,[3] was situated on the heights overlooking the Dnieper, near the spot which was used for commerce between the Russians and the Khazars.

[1] 'Year 991. The Patriarch (of Constantinople) sent Leo, as first Metropolitan of Kiev, to Vladimir (who had been baptised in 988 or 989). Vladimir had a church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, built by the Greeks.' (Cf. Muralt, *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine*, Bk. I, p. 572.)

[2] See Note A at end of this chapter.

[3] Nestor 6453, cf. 6477 and 6490.

Relying upon documents more or less authentic and convincing, some authorities[1] on history and exegesis have suggested that these Russians were evangelised by missionaries who came from the south-east of Russia—in other words, from the country of the Khazars themselves.[2] But this assertion has never won much support among Russian scholars. It is, in fact, impossible to establish with certainty when, where, and by whom Christianity was introduced for the first time in Russia.[3]

Similarly there has been much discussion in Russia and even elsewhere about the place and date of the baptism of the Princess Olga, and also about her exact nationality. Certain Russian historians, who for purely nationalist reasons have never once been ready to admit

[1] Parkhomenko, *Natchalo Khristianstva Rousi* (The Origin of Christianity in Russia), Poltava, 1913. Baratz, *Sobranie Troudov* (Collected Works), New Edit., Paris, 1927, 2 vols.

[2] The eastern kingdom of the Khazars was inhabited by a fairly considerable number of Jews, who lived principally in the towns on the shores of the sea of Azov. All this country had numerous and continuous contacts with Byzantium, from which it received among other things some scraps of the civilisation of the later Empire. It is certain that Christianity penetrated here very early. It is no less certain that it preserved here very little of its pristine purity, having been very soon intermixed with memories of the cults of Persia, and especially with the Jewish spirit and doctrines which were conspicuous by their presence in these regions. There was nothing astonishing in this existence of a Christianity crossed with Judaism, in view of the close relations between the two religions, and especially of the fact that the inhabitants of these regions, whose general state of culture at this period left much to be desired, could perceive very little difference between them and were apt to confuse them.

The Jews who lived in the peninsula of Tauris and on the shores of the Don and the sea of Azov were of Caucasian origin. The Russian philological scholar Vsevolod Miller—*Materialy dlia izoutchenia evreisko-tatarskago iazika* (Documents for the study of the Jewish-Tatar language, St. Petersb., 1892)—was of opinion that the cradle of the Jewish population of the Caucasus was to be found in the north-west of the ancient Empire of the Medes, known in our time under the name of Azerbaijan. Jewish influence in Georgia went back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. In the seventh century the Jews were regarded as a people already long established in the towns of Georgia. At the beginning of our era they were spread over the whole of the Caucasus, whence they soon passed across the Don into the Crimea and the peninsula of Tamarus. At Kertsch there was already in the first century a strong Jewish colony, which had its own synagogue.

[3] See Note B at end of this chapter.

the Scandinavian origin of the first Russian princes, have similarly and for the same reasons contested the Nordic origins of the wife of Prince Igor.[1] But there can be no further doubt on the subject. Olga was of Scandinavian origin, as is proved clearly enough by the primitive form of her name, *Elga*.[2] (*Helga* meant 'light' in the language of the early Germans.) As to the place and the exact date of her conversion to Christianity one can speak with no exactitude, except that this event must have happened about the year 960, when Elga sent an embassy to the Emperor Otho the Great.

Orthodox historians, basing themselves on statements in Nestor's Chronicle, have endeavoured to prove that Olga was baptised by the Patriarch Polyeuctus at Constantinople. There is no valid documentary evidence, however, in support of their opinion. On the contrary, the Emperor Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, in his references in his writings to the visit which Olga paid to the Court of Byzantium, makes no mention of her baptism at Constantinople.[3] We know, however, that Olga was desirous of developing closer contacts with the West, and that she endeavoured to establish relations with the Emperor Otho through the sending to the 'country of Kiev' of missionaries of the Latin rite.[4]

At the request of Olga that he should send her preachers, the Emperor Otho, who was a man of piety and full of zeal for the evangelisation of the heathen, asked William, Archbishop of Mayence, for a trusty missionary. This prelate chose Adalbert, son of Count Mosellan of Remiche (later the Duchy of Luxembourg), a man proved in good works, whom he took from the

[1] 'Inger, rex Russorum . . .' Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, Lib. V, 327. (Ed. Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist. Scr.*, Bk. III, pp. 264–363.)

[2] Goloubinsky, *Istoria rousskoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), Bk. I, p. 74.

[3] Constant. Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, Lib. II, cap. 15 (Alia receptio Elgae Russae). Ed. Reiski, *Corp. scrip. hist. byz.*, Bonn, 1829.

[4] *Annals of Hildesheim*, year 960; *Annals of Corvey* (cf. Jaffe, *Monumenta Corbeiensia*), year 959.

monastery of Saint Maximus at Trèves. Adalbert was consecrated in 962 at Mayence, and set out immediately for his new mission field. The event was to show, however, that the great men of the country and the Russian people were not in accord with their sovereign. Far from being able to instruct them, Adalbert received nothing but bad treatment at their hands. Several of his companions were martyred, and he was compelled himself to return to Germany.[1]

There is no question that the manners and customs which prevailed at that time in Southern Russia were entirely lacking in refinement. We might even describe them as extremely rough-and-ready. This was due to the manner of life which was led by the inhabitants of the principality of Kiev, to their usual occupation, and, very largely, to the primitive and debased elements in their religious conceptions. For several centuries these Slavo-Russians had lived principally by organised rapine and brigandage.[2] Their own princes set them the example by pillaging their neighbours, either for their own profit or sometimes for that of the community of which they were the leaders. As to the beliefs of these proto-Russians, they consisted, as we shall see later, in a sort of Nature deism, the veneration of a psycho-physical force, which was far from being the religion of a civilised people.

Naturally, in course of time, after the introduction of Christianity, the primitive customs of the Russo-Slavs became considerably softened. Nevertheless, the sale of slaves, which constituted one of the most lucrative and flourishing branches of the foreign trade of the principality of Kiev, continued until the eleventh century.[3]

[1] *Acta s. ord. S. Benedicti.* (Ed. Mabillon, 1685, V, pp. 573–584. *Annales Ottenburani.*) Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist. Scr.*, Bk. V, year 960.

[2] Ibn Dasta (Abu-Ali Ahmed ben Omar), *Izvestia o Khozarakh . . . i Rousskikh* (Information about the Khazars . . . and the Russians), translated and published by D.-A. Chwolson, St. Petersb., 1869, p. 55, para. 2.

[3] Ibn Foszlan (cf. Froehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen alterer Zeit*, St. Petersb., 1823, p. 7.)

Moreover, it was the general custom that female slaves, before being sold, should share the bed of their lord and master. As the Prince was the chief merchant and slave-dealer of the principality, it was he who had the greatest number of concubines. The Arab historian Ibn Foszlan (or Fodhlan), who was a contemporary of Vladimir of Kiev, declares that this Prince had a regular harem which contained at least forty women.[1] Undoubtedly this Vladimir, at least until his conversion to Christianity, was a blood-thirsty debauchee; but he had at the same time some of the qualities of a ruler.[2]

Although he had before his eyes the illustrious example of his grandmother, the Princess Olga, as well as other examples around him among his courtiers and men at arms, Vladimir, 'the gay pagan,' hesitated long in becoming a convert to Christianity. It is possible, in accordance with the theory of the Russian historian Goloubinsky,[3] that the '*droujinniki*' with whom Vladimir made merry, when he was not making war, often spoke to him of the new faith and encouraged him to follow their example. But, since at this time the Church was not yet divided into two irreconcilable camps, although the dispute between Pope Nicholas I and the Patriarch Photius had already produced a certain coldness in the relations of the Greek with the Roman Catholics, the 'Varangians' of the Prince's entourage had no interest whatever in persuading Vladimir to be baptised by the Greeks. It would in any case have been very difficult for Vladimir to take part in the growing schism and choose a side, in view of his ignorance of the canons and the dogmas of the Christian faith. Moreover, at this period

[1] Ibn Foszlan, *op. cit.*, 21. Regarding Vladimir's pagan concubines see the *Saga of Snorre Sturleson* and also Soloviev's *History of Russia*, Vol. I, Bk. I, p. 191.

[2] Thietmar of Merseburg (*Chron.*, Lib. VII, cap. 52) 'Regisque Russorum Vlodomiri . . . fornicator immensus et crudelis.'

[3] Goloubinsky, *Istoria rousskoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), Bk. I, Part I, p. 157.

he was entirely indifferent to anything which did not concern his domestic life and his business as a sovereign.

If the Russian Chronicles are to be believed, Vladimir became a convinced champion of the Christianity which he was so slow to introduce into his State. This side of the Prince's personality, however, was never stressed by contemporary historians, and they throw no light whatever for us upon the question by whom and at what date Vladimir was baptised. It is possible that in his final conversion he was influenced by certain political and economic considerations: the prospect of closer relations with Byzantium; a powerful lever for acquiring new outlets for the products and merchandise of the country of Kiev; and finally the possibility of introducing into his Court those political principles which the Church of the East conceived it to be her duty to support with all her authority.

Somewhat similar motives operated on the Byzantine side. Thrown on the defensive by the revolt of Bardas Skleros and Bardas Phocas, Basil sent envoys to Vladimir asking him to come to his aid. In the spring of the year 988, a treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the Prince, by the terms of which Vladimir contracted to hold six thousand soldiers at the disposal of Byzantium for a period of several years. The envoys for their part promised him the hand of the Emperor's sister.

After the defeat of Phocas in the sanguinary battle of Chrysophis—now Scutari, on the Asiatic side opposite Constantinople—thanks to the intervention of the warriors of Vladimir, the Emperor attempted to default in his contract about the marriage of his sister, especially as the Princess was unwilling to make herself a political sacrifice by becoming the bride of a barbarian prince. But Vladimir besieged Khorsun and compelled Basil to keep his promise. The Princess Anne, accompanied by a brilliant suite, was accordingly sent to Kiev in

989, and the Greek clergy converted the Russians to Christianity.[1]

II

The religion of the primitive Slavs was founded on the adoration of the forces of Nature and the cult of ancestors. The supreme god of their Pantheon was called Peroun. He was the lord of lightning. He was very frequently confused, however, with the god Svarog,[2] who personified the moving sky, or in other words the clouds. The other gods were the sons of Svarog, and they were called Svarojitschi; these were sun and fire. Later, with the splitting-up of the Slav people into distinct tribes, more or less independent of one another, the number of gods increased in proportion. They acquired more precise characteristics, and a separate *rôle* was assigned to each of them.

In this way the Slavs of the Baltic came to venerate a certain god Sviatovit, who was long believed to be personified by a three-headed idol called Triglav. In the town of Rhetra this same supreme god, the son of Svarog, was named Radgost, while in Czech and Polish legend we meet him under the name of Krock. Some historians have thought to discover in Sviatovit a translation of the name of Saint Vitus, since *sviat* in Russian means saint. Similarly Radgost was supposed to be called so from the name of the town where he was worshipped, while the name of Krock was given to a god in memory of Prince Krock, who, according to the chronicler Cosmas of Prague, was a man just and merciful.[3]

[1] Regel, *Analecta byzantino-Russica*, Petropoli, 1891, pp. lxx–lxxiii, Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine à la fin du Xe siècle*, Paris, 1900, Part I. pp. 703 and 716.

[2] The name of Svarog comes from the Sanskrit word *sur* (to shine). There is an analogy between this name and the Sanskrit name of the sun-god *Svarga*.

[3] With reference to Cosmas of Prague see *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, Köpke in Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, Bk. IX (*Cosmae chronica Boemorum*). Regel, *Über die Chronik Cosmas von Prag* (Dorpat, 1892).

But, whatever may be the value of all these suppositions, it is unquestionable that these different names designated one and the same supreme god, and that their appearance dates from a period much later than the original formation of the Slav race. We may say in short—and in this the folklore of the primitive Slavs will bear us out—that their gods personified the different forces of Nature in their perpetual conflict: the conflict of light with darkness, of cold with heat, of fruitfulness with drought, of life with death.

With this Nature-cult was intermixed some conception of a life beyond the grave, and also the cult of ancestors. The Slavs believed that the souls of the dead inhabited a far distant country, at the other end of the world, beyond the line of the horizon where every evening the orb of life disappeared. So they prepared the dead for this long journey by appropriate funeral ceremonies, for in default of them the soul of the departed, unable to find its way to the Beyond, would wander on this earth and be a source of annoyance to the living, as well as suffering itself.

To speed the dead on their last voyage the Slavs had recourse to cremation. The flames of the funeral pyre quickly divorced the soul from the body and sent it on its way towards the celestial regions. Fire, according to the theory of P. Miloukov,[1] united two systems of religious conceptions, born independently one of the other: the deification of the forces of Nature and the cult of ancestors. On the one hand this fire personified the sun-god on earth; it was the celestial messenger. On the other hand it assisted in the purification of the soul of the dead, and therefore became the symbol of the soul of the departed, which under different names took on the attributes of a domestic god, protector of the family and the clan. In this way the funeral pyre served for the Slavs as a substitute for a temple to which

[1] P. Miloukov, *Religia Slavian* (The Religion of the Slavs), Moscow, 1896.

they should go to worship the celestial deities—the forces of Nature—and invoke the household divinity, the guardian of the hearth.

At the period when Christianity began to spread among the Slav masses, the mythology of the people was still in a vague and rudimentary state. The Slav gods were still intermingled with the forces of Nature which they personified, and as a result they had not as yet developed any very well-defined anthropomorphic characteristics. Similarly the cult of ancestors never acquired that precise and definite character which it had among the Greeks and the Romans. In short, Slav mythology, the outlines of which were fixed long before the history of the race began, did not develop in any way whatever in the course of ages. It became mummified before it had any opportunity of expansion, and survived merely as something sketchy and unfinished. For this reason the Slav tribes—with the exception of those of the Baltic, who throughout their history had frequent contact with the representatives of other peoples—never had a definite cult, or temples for the celebration of such a cult, or an organisation of priests, or even an assortment of idols.

In Southern Russia there was something of an exception to this rule. But even there idols only made their appearance belatedly, and were then erected under the influence of the Northmen (Varangians). It is a curious point that it was Prince Vladimir—later to be called the 'Russian Clovis'—who crowned the heights around Kiev with rude effigies of Peroun, Khors, and Dajbog, and built temples where, according to the *Saga of Olaf Trygvason*, it pleased him to play the *rôle* of sacrificer.[1] A few years later he became a convert to Christianity.

[1] *Russian Antiquities*, Bk. I, Copenh., 1850. If I mention this monumental work of Nordic folklore here it is because many Icelandic and Dano-Norwegian sagas had Slav origins—such, for example, as the *Saga of Orvard-Odd*. On the other hand, a certain number of *bylines* (Russian epic poems)

III

The baptism of the people of Kiev under Vladimir has been narrated by numerous authors, but always in a somewhat summary fashion.[1] It appears to have been conducted in a business-like way, not to say on martial lines. First Vladimir gave orders that the idols which adorned the heights above the Dneiper should be dislodged from their foundations and flung into the river. Then the whole population of the city, men and women, old and young, waded into the river up to their waists, and the Greek priests whom Vladimir had brought with him from the Chersonese, where he had been baptised himself, read the appropriate prayers. Meanwhile, however, one of the fallen idols—the famous Peroun—instead of sinking into the river toppled on to the bank. Immediately a certain number of the people of Kiev, forgetting that they had become Christians, rushed towards the old divinity and began to worship it. Hereupon Vladimir had the crowd of the faithful dispersed by force of arms and burned the recalcitrant god.

We are still less well informed about what happened afterwards, and in what way the rest of Russia was converted.[2] But it is, we may well believe, a grave distortion of historical truth to affirm, as certain Orthodox historians do, that everything passed off in complete tran-

had a Nordic origin. This is explained by the fact that during three or four centuries there was a continuous exchange of ideas, beliefs, and people between Russia and Scandinavia. Archæological discoveries and runic inscriptions on the memorial stones found in Sweden offer striking confirmation of this, for these stones were all erected in memory of heroes killed or missing 'in the East'—in Russia. Another proof of the closeness of Scandinavian-Russian relations is to be found in the great number of purely Russian proper names—names the same as those which are generally to be read on Russian monuments of the ninth and tenth centuries—which have been deciphered among the runic inscriptions and in various documents originating in the eastern provinces of Sweden.

[1] See Note C at end of this chapter.

[2] Goloubinsky, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, p. 173.

quillity, and that Christianity was welcomed throughout Russia with open arms. Even if we have no general picture before our eyes, there are at least certain known details and specific instances which go to prove the contrary, and give us a very different idea of what happened in the country as a whole. To make the new faith triumph in Novgorod, for example, the strong arm had to be employed. The people of Novgorod energetically opposed the introduction of a new religion into their city. That the opposition of the citizens was crushed with the utmost rigour is confirmed by the popular saying which has been handed down throughout the whole history of Novgorod: 'Poutiata baptised with steel, and Dobrynia with fire.'[1]

For a very considerable time many of the people of Novgorod remained Christians who had been baptised to order and by force. Such was their ignorance of the new faith that even in the twelfth century—so we are told in his *Questionnaire* (Voprochanie) by Kyrik, deacon and '*domesticus*' of the monastery of Saint Anthony—the women of Novgorod took their children impartially to the Catholic churches attached to the foreign missions or to the Byzantine popes.[2]

Similar difficulties in inducing the people to accept the new faith were encountered in Rostov. The introduction of Christianity into this still barbarous district, inhabited almost exclusively by half-breed Slavo-Finns, was accompanied by cruel reprisals. A certain Ian (John) Vychatich, a heavy-handed commander, re-established order in 1070 by hanging or burning alive a number of augurs who incited the people to resist the authorities. The people of Rostov, however, did not yet regard them-

[1] Goloubinsky, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, p. 185.

[2] At that time Novgorod possessed two Catholic churches: the Church of Saint Olaf, which belonged to the guild of Scandinavian merchants and had been constructed about 1152, and the Church of Saint Peter, which was the property of the guild of German merchants. This church was built in 1184. (Goloubinsky, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, p. 814.)

selves as overcome. They expelled the two first bishops, Theodore and Hilary, who were sent to them, and some years later martyrised the third, Leo.[1] Similar scenes were enacted in the impenetrable forests of Moroum. There the rich families, under the influence of their immediate neighbours, the Mahometan Bulgarians of the Kama, either turned Musulman or remained obstinately attached to paganism.[2]

Everywhere, or almost everywhere, therefore, the introduction by the authorities of the religion of Christ was accompanied by discontents, risings, and reprisals. It may be, though we have no definite information on the point, that in the 'country of Kiev,' inhabited almost exclusively by Slavs of easy-going and accommodating character, things passed off quietly. But it is certain that in the north and east of Russia, where the population of Finnish stock were notorious for their censorious spirit, their intransigeance, and their total lack of elasticity, resistance to the introduction of a new religion must have been embittered and prolonged, more especially as there had long existed here a very well-organised priesthood and numerous meeting places for the celebration of the pagan cults.

In any case, whatever may have been the degrees of resistance shown by the different peoples inhabiting Russia to the religion of Christ, the Church, in order to combat and overcome paganism in the South as well as in the North, in the West as well as in the East, had to resort to many stratagems and to exhibit plenty of ingenuity and no less tolerance towards the old strongly established superstitions. No one could dream of attempting suddenly to uproot from the soul of these still rude peoples every memory of the traditional idolatrous cults, to suppress entirely the old pagan customs, and to wipe

[1] *Chronicle of Rostov-Souzdal.*

[2] Karamzine, *Istoria gosoudarsiva Rossyiskavo* (History of the Russian State), III, p. 113.

away at a stroke the tenacious superstitious leanings of the race. The Church, accordingly, did in Russia what she had quite legitimately done everywhere else. She endeavoured to retain what could be retained of these badly directed religious impulses, with the object of purifying them progressively and making use of them for an increasing understanding and practice of the new faith.[1]

Did the Russo-Byzantine Church succeed in this task? It is unquestionable that she did not succeed completely. At all times and everywhere the old superstitions are difficult to extirpate. What the Russian Church destroyed was considerable; but it is not surprising that something of the past still survived. That is why it is still even to-day easy to trace among the Russian people some survival of their primitive religious feelings.

It should be noted also that the Byzantine priests and monks sought to introduce into Russia, at the same time as the Evangel, the political ideal which was dominant in their country at that period, namely, the idea of power by Divine right, and the principle of complete and constant co-operation of the spiritual power with the temporal. But they failed, at least at the beginning, for the country of Kiev, whose population were strongly impregnated with the democratic spirit and very jealous of

[1] Such was the procedure at Novgorod of the first purely Russian Archbishop of that rich city, one Luke Jidiata (1034–1054), some of whose sermons have been handed down to us and are regular lessons in catechism and a complete code of moral prescriptions. Their historical interest consists in the fact that they depict for us very clearly the moral and spiritual condition of the Russia of his time, and show how widespread were drunkenness, debauchery, dishonesty, and incivility of language.

About the actual personality of Luke Jidiata we are very poorly informed. On the score of his second name it has been suggested that he was of Jewish origin. The word *Jidiata* is regarded as deriving from *jidieunok*, an offensive diminutive of *jid* = Jew. In certain chronicles, however, Luc is surnamed not Jidiata, but Jiriata. This name might derive from the word *jir* = fat, which allows us to suppose that this prelate was very obese. But in fact we know nothing definite about the origin of Luke, nor need this surprise us, since biographical data upon the first dignitaries of the Russian Church are in general very scanty.

their prerogatives and communal liberties, would not hear of it. So this conception was not taken into account and put into practice until several centuries later.

In fact the Greeks only succeeded in confusing the spirit of the Russians, turning them aside from their path, and finally stranding them in 'a kind of creek inaccessible to disturbance or movement of any kind, at a time when the peoples of Western Europe, embarked upon the ship of Rome, were entering into an infinite ocean of activity, of danger, of poetry, and of creation, involving an obscure and difficult inner ferment.'[1]

Notes

A. The Byzantine historians tell a different story. According to them, a Russian expeditionary force in two hundred ships, after devastating the coasts of Asia Minor, threatened Constantinople. The capital was only saved from sack by a miracle. The garments of the Blessed Virgin were plunged in the sea. Immediately a great tempest arose which shattered the Russian ships. The narratives of Byzantine writers about this episode are as follows: the two homilies of Photius (Muller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, Book V, pp. 162–173); Georgius Monachus Cont. (*Cor. Scr. Hist. Byz.*, col. 21); Theophanus Cont. (*Cor. Scr. Hist. Byz.*, Book IV, Ch. 33); and Johannes Zonaras (*Cor. Scr. Hist. Byz.*, Book III, p. 404). The Russians then retired, and returned two years later to be baptised by the Patriarch Photius.

In connection with the name 'Russians' employed in these narratives, which lends itself to confusion, it may be remarked that the Finns applied it to all the Scandinavian soldiers and adventurers who stayed in their territory or traversed it on their way to the 'country of Kiev.' But it must be remembered that in the Byzantine

[1] V. Rozanov, *L'Eglise Russe* (translation by Limont Saint-Jean and Denis Roche), Paris, 1912.

texts 'ὁι Ῥως (the Russians)' designated the Varangian Northmen. In a very old version of the *Venetian Chronicle*, whose author was a certain Deacon John (Urseolus), a contemporary of Vladimir, 'the gay pagan,' Prince of Kiev, it is said that the enemies of Byzantium who assailed Constantinople in 865 were Northmen: 'Normannorum gentes' (Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist. Scr.*, VII, pp. 1–4 (Johannis Diaconi *Chronicon Venetum*, 18–25). Liutprand of Cremona was of the same opinion when he gave these 'Russians' the name of Northmen: 'Rusios quos alio nos Nordmannos appellamus' (Liutprandi, *Antapodosis*, p. 227, Ed. Pertz, Book III.) Finally, according to their own story, collected by the Emperor Louis the Debonnair and recorded by Prudentius Gallindo, Bishop of Troyes (*Annalium Bertianorum*, pars secunda, par. 22–35), these 'Rhos' described themselves as of Swedish origin (*Sueonum*).

This expedition against Constantinople in 865 was therefore not the work of natives of the country of Kiev, but of a force of Northmen either attached to the service of the princes of that country, or even acting independently, as frequently happened at that time. There is the further possibility that the expedition may have been organised by the people, a mixture of Goths and Iranians, inhabiting the shores of the Black Sea. Some information about this people may be found in the works *De Bello Gothico* and *De Aedificiis* of the historian Procopius of Cæsarea. Nicetas of Paphlagonia declares explicitly that this people of Tauris was responsible for the expedition.

Whether they were Gotho-Iranians or Northmen, it seems at first sight remarkable that they should have returned to Constantinople two years later to be baptised, though baptism by the Greeks was at that time common enough. The Goths of Tauris, however, had already been in contact with Christianity during their stay in Asia Minor. Their first bishop, in the fourth century, was a certain Ounila, who was consecrated

by the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom himself. Later they were included in the diocese of Tauris, which Byzantium created for the express purpose of bringing them more readily within the scope of the empire. As for the Northmen living in Kiev, in the entourage of the princes or forming a part of their 'legion' (*droujiuniki*), it was nothing exceptional for them to be converted according to the Greek rite. But what makes one doubt the truth of this story of a collective baptism of Northmen at Constantinople is that there is no consistency about the reputed date of the event. Some assert that it took place in the reign of the Emperor Michael III, who was assassinated in September 867, while others claim that it was not Photius who baptised these 'Russians,' but the Patriarch Ignatius in the reign of Basil.

B. We may quote on this subject the opinion lately expressed by M. Nikolsky (cf. *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.*, Vol. I, 1928), namely, that Christianity was introduced into Russia from Western Europe in the ninth century by Slav tribes which, having finally detached themselves from the great Slav family, inhabited the Pannonian plains and the slopes of the Carpathians, and then migrated further east towards the banks of the Dnieper. The Western origin of the Slavs of the country of Kiev has been demonstrated in a convincing fashion in the works of Robert Roeler (among others in his *Romanische Studien*, Leipzig, 1871), Tomasek, Nadejdine, and Vassilevsky. About this there can be little dispute. But it is much less solidly established that these Slavs, when they made their home on the banks of the Dnieper, brought with them the religion of Christ, together with a written language which differed little from that spoken by the Slavs of the Adriatic and the Lower Danube.

It is certain that a close cultural relationship existed between the Russians and the Western Slavs long before the people of Kiev came under the influence of Byzan-

tium, and A. Chakhmatof has shown that it was only after the separation of the Churches that the *Natchalnaia lietopis* was revised in the Byzantine sense and all proofs of this connection eliminated. (At the end of the thirteenth century Byzantine ideology had definitely separated the Russians from the other Western Slavs. At this period a '*Liakh*' (Pole) was already regarded in Russian ecclesiastical circles as a limb of Satan and of Roman Catholicism, a religion more false and pernicious than Judaism.) It does not naturally follow, however, that Christianity was the vehicle of these cultural relations between Russians and Slavs. It is a fact that Constantine the Philosopher, during his sojourn in the Chersonese, according to the Pannonian version of the life of Saint Cyril (*Zivot sv. Konstantina recenego Cyrilla*, in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, Bk. I, Prague, 1873), found a Gospel and a Psalter written 'in Russian letters'; that he discussed them with a man belonging to this people; and that, profiting by this conversation, he succeeded in deciphering this writing, which was very close to that employed by the Western Slavs. But this does not seem to furnish a sufficient proof that at the time of Saint Cyril the Russians of Kiev had already embraced Christianity *en masse*.

In the ninth century the Tauric Chersonese was outside the Russo-Slav world, and there is nothing to prove that this Gospel and Psalter had been imported from countries inhabited by Western Slavs. It seems more likely that they had been translated from a Bible and Gospel written in the Gothic language, or even that they were simply a Gothic Bible and Gospel. This is the view of the great Czech philologist Safarik and of certain Russian scholars, such as Ilysky and Tikhonravof, whose opinion has latterly been supported by F. Dvornik. The Goths, who were converted in the fourth century, were numerous in the peninsula of Tauris, and had dioceses depending on Constantinople (Dvornik, *Les*

Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle, Paris, 1926). It is even possible, of course, as some scholars believe, that the whole of this passage of the life of Saint Cyril was merely a later interpolation made by a Russian or Moravian copyist.

C. One of the versions of this narrative was published by Anselm Badouri in a Greek text, accompanied by a Latin translation. In the Bonn edition of the Byzantine *Corpus* it appears as an appendix to the complete works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (III, pp. 358–364). The beginning of the narrative was missing, but W. Regel had the good fortune to discover it in 1886 in the library of the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist at Patmos. Whether it be taken as a whole or in detail, however, the narrative is nothing but a mediocre thirteenth- or fourteenth-century compilation, based almost exclusively on written second-hand sources. The author, apparently a Greek monk, confuses dates, periods, and countries. For example, referring to an entirely unknown source, he would have the philosopher Cyril of Constantinople go to Kiev for the sole purpose of giving the Russians his famous Slav alphabet. Unfortunately for this anonymous Greek, we know definitely that Cyril did not go to Kiev during the reign of Vladimir at all, for the very good reason that at that period he had long been dead. It is perfectly true that in 858 or 860 he was entrusted by the Patriarch of Constantinople with the mission of going to preach to the heathen Khazars. But as a matter of fact he prudently skirted the possessions of the princes of Kiev and returned to Constantinople after having converted two hundred Iranians. (Zivot, *Konstantina recenego Cyrilla:* C. VIII–XI, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, Bk. I, Prague, 1873.) All of which only goes to show once more how vague and contradictory are the data which we possess on the chief events of that far-off era.

CHAPTER II

BYZANTIUM AND THE SCHISM OF THE EAST

I

TO arrive at a clear and precise explanation of that event of capital importance in the history of the Œcumenical Church which is called the Schism of the East, it is not enough to regard it merely as a quarrel of abstract theology. If one isolates it from the circumstances in which it happens one runs the risk of making it appear an abnormal event. It is capable, however, of a quite natural explanation if one considers it in its proper setting—the Byzantine society of the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Before we deal with the Schism, therefore, let us take a bird's-eye view of this setting in which it was born, developed, and asserted itself.

When he transformed the old Megarian colony of Byzantium into a capital and gave it his name, Constantine the Great took the first step which was soon destined finally to break the unity of the Roman Empire. No doubt he and his immediate successors planned to continue governing the provinces of the East and the West simultaneously. But this was only because they did not realise the profound gulf which separated the two capitals from both the moral and the material points of view. It was only because they failed to appreciate that each of them represented a world apart which had in reality nothing to unite them and everything to separate them.

The difference of race between Greeks and Latins was

already strongly marked in the pagan era. It was tempered in the first centuries of Christianity by community of ardour for the new Faith. It reappeared from the moment when this ardour began to decline, while at the same time the purely Greek population of the new capital was affected by the ever-increasing influx of elements of Slav and Asiatic origin. As a result, despite the fact that Constantine's successors called themselves Roman Emperors and endeavoured to maintain at least a partial usage of Latin on the banks of the Bosphorus, they lost increasingly not only their right to bear this title but also the appearance and physique of Romans. They became Greeks, and finished by becoming Oriental despots.

Naturally this transformation did not happen overnight. It was a process of centuries. But from the death of Justinian the Orientalisation of the Empire made long strides. At the beginning of the ninth century the borrowings of the Byzantine spirit from the Asiatic world amounted already to a considerable capital. A few decades more sufficed to turn Constantinople into a purely Oriental city.[1]

'One fact clearly expresses this Orientalisation and reveals its essential traits,' writes M. Dvornik. 'This was the Iconoclast movement. A study of the development of this heresy sufficiently illustrates the tendency. Its very appearance is an Asiatic phenomenon: Iconoclast ideas came from the East. In the Byzantine Empire itself the promoters of Iconoclast ideas were by origin men of the Eastern provinces. Leo the Isaurian was born in Syria, at Germanicia, and he was later commander in Anatolia, where there certainly existed at that time Eastern influences hostile to the cult of images. On the other hand, nothing better reveals the Orientalisation of Byzantium after the Iconoclast struggles than the art which then developed there. Bagdad, the capital of the

[1] Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Rome et Byzance au IXe siècle*, Paris, 1926 (p. 28).

Abbasid Khalifs, served as model to Byzantine architects and artists. The capital of the Empire became so Oriental that it could rival Bagdad itself.'[1]

Such an evolution of the Empire was bound to have a profound reaction upon the Byzantine Church, more especially as this Church, in the course of centuries, had allowed the Emperor, heir to the High Priesthood of the Roman emperors, to assume an ever-increasing authority over her. A fief of the State, she was fated inevitably to follow the same path and to adjust her steps to it. So, little by little, she moved further and further away from her sister Church of the West. When finally the Empire, thanks to the changes which developed in the ethnical situation of Europe as a result of the great migrations, found itself forced to abandon its pretensions to universal hegemony, the Byzantine Church in her turn lost her aspect of universality. Long before this time, however, she had been divided and shaken by sterile but exhausting struggles over dogma.

Aristotle remarked in his own time upon the immoderate taste of the Oriental for metaphysics and his pronounced inclination for dialectical subtleties and discussions about everything and about nothing. All these tendencies were united in Byzantium in such measure that in the end they fixed the Church in a state of immobility from which she has never yet been able to shake herself.

The number of heresies which divided the Christian East since the fourth century had excited popular passions in the highest degree. The Emperors, who almost always regarded themselves as something of theologians and, as we have seen, proposed to control the Church as well as the State, took part in these quarrels. These interventions themselves were a fresh cause of trouble and sedition. By a natural corollary, if the State stirred the

[1] Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Church, the Church stirred the State. The ever-increasing monastic population exercised a fanatical influence over the people, attracting them by the exterior forms of worship, such as images and relics, and setting them at its will against bishops, patriarchs, officials, and even the emperors themselves.[1]

Was the activity of the Iconoclast emperors, as some historians assert, merely a reaction against this infatuation for the exterior forms of worship, and against the influence of the clergy who hampered the actions of the Imperial power? However that may be, and whether this was their whole intention or not, the fact remains that they did themselves a poor service. Not only did they start within the Empire a bitter struggle which lasted for many years, but their policy also had the consequence of detaching the Church of Rome and Italy from the East. Central Italy and Rome obeyed the Pope rather than the Emperor, and in the conflicts between these two powers Rome was always with the Popes. Accordingly, when the edicts against images reached Italy the people thought of making themselves independent, while Gregory II, Gregory III, and their successors for their part stoutly defended the worship of images.

This was the first serious clash between the Roman Church and that of Byzantium. Another source of discord soon presented itself. The Papacy, menaced by the Lombards, and being no longer able to count upon Byzantium—which, occupied by its war against the Persians and the Arabs, was withdrawing more and more all the time from contact with the Western provinces of the old Roman Empire—appealed to the Franks. The result of this appeal was that, at Christmas of the Year of Grace 800, Charlemagne was crowned in Rome by Pope Leo III, because, in the words of a contemporary,

[1] Bayet, *Grande Encycl.*, Bk. VIII, pp. 550 *et seq.*

'there was at that time no Emperor at Constantinople, and the Greeks were governed by a woman.'

This move first surprised and then scandalised Byzantium. And, although the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, of the *presbytera Romae*, had never been disowned there, and although for his part Charlemagne was ready to marry the Empress Irene in order to preserve the idea of an Empire universal and indivisible, Byzantium and its Church continued to insist upon their historical claims, which in any case had become purely theoretical. But in the long run this stiff-necked pride of Byzantium turned against itself. For, if the idea of the universal Empire had collapsed, the idea of universality did not disappear with it. The Popes were about to save it by ridding it of the dead weight of territorial limitations and by formulating in its full scope the Gospel idea of the universal Church.[1]

The rebuff which Byzantium had suffered in Rome in 800 was the more galling to its pride and vanity inasmuch as the liquidation of the Iconoclast quarrels had, just at that moment, brought an access of vigour to the Church of the East. To celebrate their victory and consolidate the Orthodox doctrine the Iconodules established the feast of Orthodoxy, which was celebrated for the first time in 843. But, as Rome did not take part in it, the ceremony was only an affair of family rejoicing, and not at all a feast of Christianity. Moreover, a very intense and bitter struggle was on the eve of breaking out between the Roman Pontiffs and the Patriarchs of Constantinople —a struggle which Photius was soon to envenom.[2]

Born about 827, the future Patriarch was a member of a rich family of noble descent. The father of Photius was the *spatharius* Sergius. The Patriarch Tarasius was his great-uncle, and he was related to Theodora and to

[1] Dvornik, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[2] Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopol*, Regensburg, 1867-69.

Bardas, Regent of the Empire during the reign of Michael III, through one of his uncles, who had married Salomaria, sister of the famous Empress.

Born at a moment when Byzantium had recovered a semblance of its past glory in a *renaissance* of letters and philosophy, Photius could benefit by an almost world-wide culture. It is certain that, when he was still quite young, he exercised a great influence upon the leading youth of Byzantium. He was an excellent master of theology and philosophy and a brilliant controversialist, with a supple and persuasive tongue. He took service in the Imperial administration, and, having secured and accomplished with success a delicate mission in the East, he was soon rewarded with the post of Secretary of State and the dignity of *protospatarius*.

At the period when Photius was travelling the roads of the Empire and was busy with his administrative functions, the Patriarchal seat was occupied by a holy monk and pious ascetic, the eunuch Ignatius. He was a stubborn man, as severe with others as with himself, and he was besides a sworn enemy of philosophy and profane literature, which he considered the worst enemies of the Church. But his opinions, unfavourably regarded though they were by a large number of dignitaries of the Empire, would not have broken the career of the Patriarch if he had not made a mortal enemy of the Regent by depriving him of Easter Communion to punish him for his debauchery and by refusing the monarchical crown to the Empress Theodora and her daughters, relegated to a convent.

From that moment the days of the Patriarch were numbered. Bardas secured from the Imperial drunkard who bore the title of Michael III a decree deposing Ignatius. The Patriarch, however, refused to submit to the decree.[1] To overcome the resistance of the obstinate

[1] Theophanis Cont. (*Corp. scr. hist. byz.*, Bk. IV, 32); also Simon the Major, 28.

old man, supported only by the monks, whose power and prestige had considerably declined, the Regent and his friend and relation Photius took drastic measures. Bardas invited Photius to replace Ignatius. Photius accepted. Within four days minor orders were conferred upon him. On the fifth he was made priest, and on the sixth he was consecrated by the Bishop of Syracuse, Gregory Asbestas, who had been deposed by Ignatius.

In acting in this way Bardas and Photius were sure of having behind them the Court and a large number of the clergy, who had been made very discontented by the severity of Photius. But they had forgotten to reckon with Rome. This omission was to have weight enough to break the last thread which united the two Churches.

Once Patriarch, Photius busied himself with the affairs of the Church and the increase of her prestige both within the frontiers of the Empire and outside them. He put an end to the heresy of images and succeeded in bringing the Monophysites and even the Paulicians back to unity. In short, he had large ideas and intended to carry them out. He said as much in his letter to Pope Nicholas I (861) detailing his success against the heretics. But he had still to be recognised by the Holy See as Patriarch of Byzantium.

Photius declared himself for his part quite ready to admit publicly the primacy of the Roman Pontiff.[1] Nicholas I, however, was in no haste for a reconciliation.[2] The relations of Ignatius with the Holy See had not always been cordial. He, too, was a Byzantine, jealous of the prestige of his Church and eager to extend her influence. Besides, this was not the first time that there had been quarrels at Byzantium between the Court and ecclesiastical authority; nor was it the first time that a Patriarch had been deposed and his successor nominated

[1] *Photii, Constantinopolitani patriarchae, Opera Omnia.* Tomus secundus, Epist. II. (Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, Vol. 102, cc. 585–618.)

[2] *Nicolai papae I. Epistolae et Decreta* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, t. 119).

during his lifetime. So, when the envoys of the Emperor and of Photius arrived in Rome at the beginning of 862, the Pope refrained from declaring himself unreservedly for Ignatius, however obvious it might be that his deposition was not canonical. The situation was only changed by the arrival in Rome of a number of monks, partisans of the fallen Patriarch, who had left Constantinople in fear of reprisals.[1]

Then, having taken the advice of the Council which he had summoned in the spring of 863, Nicholas I addressed to the pseudo-Patriarch a letter depriving him of all ecclesiastical dignity.[2] The cause of Photius was definitely lost. But, in launching his campaign against the Latins, he did not at first carry the controversy into the territory of the Papal prerogative. In any case, the primacy of the Bishop of Rome was recognised by the great majority of his fellow-countrymen. The struggle was at first entirely one of dogma. It began with the throwing into the scale by Photius of the vexed question of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

II

The Church of the East differed from the Church of the West in various usages. For example, she permitted the marriage of priests and did not compel the faithful to fast on Saturdays. On the other hand, her Lent was longer and more rigorous. It was a more important matter that within her had been born most of the known heresies.

One of the first was that of the Arians, whose most important leaders, after Arius himself, were Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, who developed this heresy in connection with the Holy Ghost, and Marathonius, Bishop of Nicomedia. It is a matter of history that the

[1] See Note A at end of this chapter.
[2] Dvornik, op. cit., p. 63.

first Œcumenical Council, assembled at Nicea in 325, condemned the doctrine of Arius and asserted the consubstantiality and the co-existence of the Father and the Son. But, as this Council laid down no dogma regarding the Holy Ghost, its work had to be supplemented in 381 by the Council of Constantinople (the Second Œcumenical), which condemned the Macedonians and added to the Nicean Creed a clause as follows:

'Credimus in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, et Patre procedentem, et cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per prophetas.'[1]

The formula 'ex Patre procedens' was adopted *ad hominem*[2] (according to the Gospel according to S. John, xv, 26), not in an exclusive but an assertive sense in order to make it clear that the Holy Ghost was not created, and proceeded not only from the Son, but also from the Father. But, given the divinity of three Persons, on the question of the relationship of the Son with the Holy Ghost in God, the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople, preoccupied especially with combating the Arian heresy, remained silent. The Greek Church chose to abide by the letter, and, although there was nowhere to be found any such exclusive expression as 'ex solo Patre,' she inclined generally to this doctrine. It was not until much later that she threw reservations aside, and this was done at first only hesitatingly and in isolated cases.

On the occasion, however, when the Patriarch of Constantinople, Saint Tarasius, read his profession of faith before the Second Council of Nicea (787), the Seventh Œcumenical:

'Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in unum D. J. C. Filium Dei et Deum Nostrum . . . et in

[1] Mansi, *Collectio Conc.*, *Concilium Constantin.*, II, Bk. III, 566.
[2] *Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit.*

Spiritum Sanctum, D. et vivificantem, ex Patre *per Filium procedentem. . . .*'[1]

he formulated a *theologumenon*—that is to say he emitted a dogmatic opinion, which was officially recognised by an Œcumenical Council. It is true that, well in advance of the Council, the Patriarch had taken the precaution of sending his profession of faith to all the Patriarchs of the East. On the other hand, the public reading of this profession, far from provoking astonishment, was accepted as a matter of course by the legates and all the Fathers present at the Council.

But meanwhile the Church of the West, influenced by the teaching of her Fathers, Saint Ambrose, Saint Hilary, and especially Saint Augustine,[2] was rapidly brought to an exact and logical definition and assertion of the doctrine which should govern the procession of the Holy Ghost. The *Filioque* appears to have been inserted in the Creed for the first time in Spain, at the third Council of Toledo, which assembled in 589 in order, like its two predecessors, to combat Sabellianism.[3] The first protest of the Greeks, not against the doctrine of *Filioque* itself, but against its insertion in the Creed, was raised at the other end of the Mediterranean, on the very threshold

[1] 'Proceeding from the Father *by* the Son.' (Mansi, *Col. S. Conc.*, Bk. XII, col. 1121.)

[2] The *Livres Carolins* composed in 799 by order of Charlemagne contain a sharp attack on the second Council of Nicea, and reproach Saint Tarasius for having said that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *by* the Son instead of saying from the Father *and* the Son, as the whole Church universally believed: *Ex Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum, non ex Patre per Filium, procedere recte creditur et usitate confitetur.* These latter words show that at the end of the eighth century the doctrine of *Filioque* had spread through the whole empire of the Franks. The Papacy replied correctly to these unjust recriminations. Adrian I (772-95) raised his voice in favour of the Council of Nicea and the orthodoxy of Tarasius. He invoked the testimony of the Fathers to show that the formula of the Patriarch was orthodox, and that the decrees of the second Council of Nicea ought to be venerated. (Cf. Palmieri, in *Dict. Theol. Cath.*, Bk. V, col. 2313.)

[3] Mansi, *Collect. S. Conciliorum*, Bk. IX, col. 981. The Spanish origin of the *Filioque* ('and from the Son') is unquestionable; the only doubt concerns the date of its insertion.

of the sepulchre of our Lord. At Jerusalem, in 808, monks of the West were accused by Eastern monks of chanting the *Credo* with the addition of this new word.

The case was referred to Leo III. The Pope declared (809) that the Holy Ghost proceeded equally from the Father and from the Son, but regretted that the Westerners should have taken it upon themselves to chant the Creed with this addition. It was necessary to bear in mind the explanations about the doctrine recently made at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (held in this same year 809), but nothing should be added to the Creed of Nicea-Constantinople whose text was engraved in Latin and Greek on the silver scrolls hung at the threshold of the confessional of Saint Peter.

In issuing this ruling Leo III merely judged that the time was not yet ripe for adding to the Creed a new formula of dogma. But he was so far convinced of the truth of the *Filioque* that he did not order the immediate suppression of this formula ;[1] nor did he excommunicate the Churches of Spain and of the Gauls because they held by their custom and did not follow his counsel (Palmieri, *op. cit.*, Bk. V, col. 2330–31). It is unquestionable that the Popes had always pronounced themselves in favour of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, but that the Roman Church held it expedient to temporise so far as the official addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed of Constantinople was concerned. On several occasions she refused to yield in this respect to the repeated requests of her most devoted sons. She feared that the insertion in the Creed of this formula, even though it was dogmatically true, would offend the Byzantine spirit and deliver the Church over to the intoxication of new heresies. The facts unfortunately were to show that her gloomy forebodings were justified.

[1] The Council of Rome in 810 confirmed the doctrine of the *Filioque*, but did not admit the word to the Creed.

The usage of saying the Creed with the *Filioque* finally prevailed in Rome, but exactly at what period is not known. According to an anonymous Greek, Pope Christopher (903–04) was the first to insert in the Creed the word *Filioque*. It is generally admitted, however, that it was at the instance of the Emperor Henry II (1002–24) that Pope Benedict VIII (1012–24) consented to chant the Creed at Mass in Rome with the addition of the *Filioque*. The Pope decided in favour of this innovation after taking counsel of a commission composed of Bishops and Cardinals.[1]

If, then, there existed a certain divergence of views between East and West about the interpretation and the application of the dogma of the procession of the Holy Ghost, this divergence did not constitute a conflict of dogma and did not exceed the bounds of orthodoxy, more especially as the Councils had laid down no definition on the subject. The addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed, therefore, was not the cause of the Greek schism. It is unquestionable in fact that long before Photius the doctrine of *Filioque* was known and professed by the Churches of Spain and the Gauls. The Greeks, however, always on the watch as they were for new heresies, did not protest against this 'anti-evangelical novelty.' Through the mouth of its most illustrious teachers (Photius himself in his great work entitled *Mystagogia*[2] cites Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose as favourable to the *Filioque*) Latin theology pronounced for the *Filioque*. The *Filioque* penetrated into professions of faith before the Councils of the West, and even into the Creed of Constantinople. The Greek monks of Palestine were shocked at hearing their brethren chant the Creed with the *Filioque;* yet the Greek hierarchy did not range itself on their side in defence of 'orthodoxy.'

[1] Palmieri, *op. cit.*, Bk. V, col. 2317.

[2] Hergenröther, *Photii Constantinopolitani Liber de Spiritus Sancti Mystagogia* (Ratisbon, 1857); cf. Migne, *Pat. gr.*

But when Pope Nicholas I flatly refused to espouse the cause of Photius and to abandon Ignatius to the persecution of his enemies; when the Holy See proclaimed the elevation of Photius to the Patriarchal chair illegal—then the *Filioque* was brought into play.[1] In other words, if Photius had been absolved and recognised by Rome he would not have raised the question of the *Filioque* or broken off relations with the Roman Church.

It was the primacy of the Popes rather than the *Filioque* which the authors of the Greek schism resented. In a long letter addressed to the Patriarchs of the East,[2] immediately after a Council convoked at Constantinople in 867, Photius accused the Latins of outraging the faith and discipline of the Church because they had added the *Filioque* to the Creed, thus making the Holy Ghost proceed from the Son as from the Father; and because they favoured the despotism of the Pope in imposing the Saturday fast, permitting the usage of milk, eggs, and cheese during Lent, and exacting celibacy from priests.

The principal task of this Council itself, it appears (an actual record of its proceedings has not been preserved), was to depose the Pope, to excommunicate in advance all who communicated with him, and to proclaim Photius universal Patriarch.[3] This gave Photius supreme jurisdiction over the Church.[4] Then, in order to make the Easterners accept his new title and all the prerogatives attached to it, the Patriarch and his partisans busied themselves with getting into Byzantine heads the idea that the Popes owed their primacy only to the fact of having been Bishops of the capital of the Empire, and that they

[1] Palmieri, *op. cit.*, Bk. V, col. 2311–12.

[2] Photii, *op. cit.*, second part, Epist. XIII. (Migne, *Patr. graec.*, Bk. 102, col. 721 *et seq.*)

[3] A record of the proceedings of the Council was sent to the Emperor Louis the Debonnair, or the Pious. Prayers were offered at the Council for him and the Empress Ingelbert, in which they were given the title of 'most august.' Photius perhaps hoped to find in them allies against the Papacy.

[4] Labbe (P. Philippe), *Sacrosancta concilia*, Vol. VIII, p. 471.

had lost it to the benefit of the Bishops of Constantinople from the day when the capital was transferred to that city.[1]

In order to make the breach with Rome irreparable, Photius hastened to expel the Roman legates Dominicus and Formosus from Byzantium. After that he could reasonably regard himself as standing on the peak of fortune. But in a city like Byzantium, and in circles such as those which revolved around the throne of the '*Basileus*,' a man was more exposed than anywhere else in the world to the most bitter and unexpected reverses of fortune. Photius had not long to wait before he was the victim of such a reverse. In the course of that very year 867 in which was held the Council that registered his triumph, he lost his most powerful protector in the person of Michael III.

The Byzantine Emperor had been forced by the pressure of public opinion to associate in the business of State one of his Court officials, a somewhat uncivilised young barbarian, barely able to read and write, who was nevertheless regarded as a man of intelligence and energy. This was Basil, the son of a Macedonian peasant, who at the age of twenty-five had arrived in Constantinople, and there made his way, thanks to his genius for intrigue and the prestige of his physical vigour. It was also his habit, when people incommoded him too much, to 'suppress' them. He did so in the case of the Regent Bardas, who stood in his way, and finally in the case of the Emperor himself.

One fine day, on the 24th of September, 867, he found the Emperor an encumbrance in this world, and he therefore had him assassinated at a banquet given by his mother, Theodora. Then it was the turn of Photius, whom Basil had always disliked. But, as a Patriarch could not be publicly killed off, even in Byzantium, he had Photius imprisoned in a monastery, with the object of sending

[1] See Note B at end of this chapter.

him later into exile. It was written, however, that he should not so easily dispose of Photius. Taking advantage of a change in the attitude of the Emperor Basil towards him—a change dictated largely by the Emperor's need of giving hostages to the nationalist party of which the fallen Patriarch was one of the pivots—Photius secured a pardon and returned to Constantinople.

It so happened that the Patriarch Ignatius, who after the fall of Photius had been solemnly restored to his high Office by the Eighth Œcumenical Council, which was held at Constantinople in 869 and condemned Photius, died at this moment. Photius had little difficulty in getting himself nominated to the vacant chair. He succeeded even in having himself recognised by Pope John VIII as the legitimate successor of Saint Ignatius. He was not long, however, to remain on good terms with Rome. His familiar demon soon resumed possession of him, and then there were renewed imprecations against the Papacy, renewed grievances against the Latins.

By way of counter-blast to the Eighth Œcumenical Council which had judged him, Photius in 879 assembled a Synod composed exclusively of Bishops belonging to the Church of the East. These, at his instance, anathematised the preceding Council, proclaimed equality between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, forbade the assumption of new prerogatives by the See of Rome, and prohibited the addition of anything—in other words the *Filioque*—to the Creed.[1]

Three years later he made a new move which carried the Greek Church still further away from Rome and the West in general. This was his letter to the Patriarch of Aquileia, in which for the first time he employed the word 'heresy' in connection with the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed.[2] But the death of Basil the Macedonian (886) was followed by a systematic reaction of the

[1] Mansi, *Pseudo-Synodus Photiana. Coll.*, Bk. XVIIIa, col. 366–519.

[2] See Note C at end of this chapter.

government of Leo VI, called the Philosopher, against the personalities and the policies of the preceding reign. In 888 Photius was once more compelled to vacate his chair, which was given to Etienus, brother of the Emperor. Photius was relegated to a monastery in Armenia, where he died.

III

From the second deposition of Photius to the Patriarchate of Michael Cerularius (1043–58)—if one excepts the years of the Patriarchate of Sisinnios (995–98)[1]—the quarrels between Rome and Byzantium about the *Filioque* lapsed. There was no resumption, however, of normal relations between the two Churches. The estrangement between the East and the West became progressively more marked. Causes for it were not lacking. At one time there was the spiritual distraint of Byzantium upon Bulgaria; at another the advance of the Greek Church in Southern Italy, thanks to the foundation of churches and monasteries.[2] On the other hand, in the sphere of politics the Byzantine Emperors persisted in refusing to recognise the event of the year 800. For them there had only been one Imperial power in the world—their own—ever since Constantine had transferred to Byzantium all the political authority of ancient Rome.

In these circumstances the Patriarch of Antioch was able to announce his election to Pope Leo IX and send him his profession of faith, and to receive from the Pope in 1053 an affable reply rejoicing over the success of the Patriarch in 'reviving the zeal of the Church of Antioch,' without such exchanges of compliments doing anything

[1] Following in the footsteps of Photius, Sisinnios—unless an ignorant copyist attributed it to him—signed an encyclical letter in which he reproached the Latins for the addition of the *Filioque*. This letter, however, contains nothing original either in form or substance; it is merely a re-issue of the famous missive of Photius to the Patriarchs of the East.

[2] Liutprand of Cremona, *De Legatione Constantinopolitana*. (Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, Bk. III.)

to diminish the growing hostility or clear away misunderstandings. The lack of accord which existed between Rome and Byzantium as the natural sequel to the movement which Photius had set on foot in the Church was already too wide and too deep for any isolated case, no matter what might be its importance in itself, to act as a brake. At the same time one may assert that no violent, complete and definite rupture between the Greek Church and the Roman Church would have developed if such had not been the express wish of Michael Cerularius.

Both in his origin and in certain traits of character Michael Cerularius was a second Photius. Less of a scholar than his famous predecessor in the Patriarchal chair of Constantinople, though still well versed in dialectic and theology, Cerularius at the outset did not seem destined for the Church. The son of a distinguished Imperial official, he went to Court and soon made his appearance at the head of a conspiracy hatched in 1040 against the oppressive government of Michael the Paphlagonian. What was his object in this undertaking? 'He was addicted to tyranny,' wrote one of his biographers;[1] in other words, he wanted to make himself Emperor. At Byzantium such ambitions were capable of realisation. Cerularius, however, was unfortunate. His plot failed, and he was arrested and deported.

This unhappy experience of his youth had a decisive influence upon his career, for it impelled him towards sacerdotalism and mysticism. Recalled to Constantinople after the accession of Constantine IX Monomachus, Michael Cerularius rapidly became one of the Emperor's most trusted councillors, until he finally ascended the Patriarchal throne. Psellos[2] asserts that he did so dishonourably enough by means of corruption of the electors, for there were several candidates. However

[1] John Scylitzes (Curopalatus), *Works* (*Corpus Scrip. His. Byz.*), Bonn, 1838, Bk. II. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. CXXII, col. 368.

[2] Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. CXXII.

that may be, Michael Cerularius, once he had become Patriarch, while he devoted himself in his palace of Saint Sophia to alchemy and research for the philosopher's stone, displayed an activity which was very far from confining itself to purely spiritual and religious affairs.

Born with a passion for command, incapable of compromise, often brutal and nothing of a diplomat, Cerularius could not content himself with presiding over the religious offices in Saint Sophia, seated upon his Pontifical throne. He had to assert himself; he had to do even more—to demonstrate his power. He would have his Church be omnipotent—free from all restraint and able to oppose successfully the control of any spiritual authority foreign to his own hierarchy. In short, he would break definitely with Rome and release himself completely from Papal tutelage.

Cerularius, moreover, like all the Byzantines of the eleventh century, even the most moderate, was profoundly convinced of the superiority of the usages of the Greek Church over all others. It was, therefore, with a complete sense of responsibility, and entirely of his own volition, that Michael Cerularius declared war on the Roman Church. 'All the insults which he levelled at her, all the violence which he offered her, had been long premeditated. From the outset he burned his boats and rendered almost impossible the task of those (and they were many) who were concerned for the reconciliation of the Churches. He did not attack Rome, as Photius had done earlier, merely in order to defend himself; he believed that the moment had come for separation, and he sought to secure it despite anybody.'[1]

The struggle against Rome was undertaken by Cerularius in 1053. The moment seemed to be well chosen, for in that year Pope Leo IX, after his heavy defeat at Civitella, which had destroyed all his hopes of domination in Italy, was under the stern surveillance of the North-

[1] L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1899, p. 97.

men, if not their actual prisoner, at Beneventum.[1] It was there that he received the first blow struck by Cerularius in the polite form of a letter from a Greek bishop to a Roman bishop. This letter was addressed by Leo, formerly priest of the Church of Constantinople, and now Archbishop of Ochrida in Bulgaria, to John, Bishop of Trani in Apulia.[2]

Its author, however, made it clear at the outset that it had a wider scope than merely that of a letter, and that it was in fact addressed 'to all the Frankish Bishops and to the most reverend Pope himself' (*ipsum reverendissimum Papam*). It was a regular charge list against all the usages of the Latin Church. Two Roman customs especially were called in question—the Saturday fast and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.[3] These, according to Leo of Ochrida, were entirely Jewish usages which had been rejected by the New Law, and their maintenance made the Latin Church no better than a mere Jewish community. His letter ended with an invitation to return to the true customs of the Church. John forwarded it immediately to Cardinal Humbert, who translated it into Latin and sent it to the Pope.

At the same time Michael Cerularius caused to be circulated throughout the Greek Church a treatise written in Latin by a monk of the monastery of Studium, Nicetas Stathatos or Pectoratus, in which the attack upon the Latins was formulated in more violent terms than in the letter of the Archbishop of Bulgaria.[4] Not only the

[1] Wiberto, *Vita S. Leonis IX papae* (Ed. Mabillon, *Acta s. ord. S. Benedicti*). O. Delac, *Un pape alsacien, Saint Leon IX*, Paris, 1876.

[2] *Leonis bulgariae archiepiscopi epistola* (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Bk. CXX, col. 836–44).

[3] The general belief of the Church is that Jesus Christ was served with unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. That is the reason why this form of bread is used. In the Russian Church, however, only leavened bread is used (*prosphora*). (Cf. U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen-Age*, Part I, col. 289. Parisot, *Dict. de Théol. cathol.*, Bk. I, col. 2664.)

[4] Nicetas Stethatos, *Adversus Latinos* (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Bk. CXX, col. 845–50).

Saturday fast and unleavened bread, but also the celibacy of the clergy, were denounced as heresies by Nicetas Statathos. This monk was one of the most trusted assistants of Michael Cerularius, and was responsible for editing the pamphlets of the Patriarch of Byzantium.

In order to cut short any attempt at reconciliation and put his desire for separation unmistakably on record, Michael Cerularius did not content himself with words. He proceeded to deeds, in the form of an order that the Latin churches in Constantinople should be closed. The letter of Leo of Ochrida, however, far from intimidating the Pope, caused him to abandon his habitual reserve and issue a reply which, in its scope and significance, far surpassed the petty liturgical points to which the Archbishop of Bulgaria had confined himself. This letter of Leo IX was addressed not only to the Archbishop, but also to the Patriarch of Constantinople himself.[1] In other words, the Pope showed that he was ready to meet his real adversary. The Pope placed the struggle on its proper ground, the primacy of the See of Rome, and refused meanwhile to discuss the questions raised by the Archbishop of Bulgaria. In short, before justifying the usages of the Latin Church, Leo IX demanded the prior submission of Michael Cerularius.

The Pope's letter had the effect of making the Patriarch draw in his horns. By order of the Emperor, who feared that the religious quarrel would embarrass Byzantine policy in Italy, Cerularius replied to the Pope in a letter full of moderation and respect. But the respectful tone of this letter did not deceive Leo IX. The pretensions of Michael Cerularius to treat with him on a footing of equality convinced the Pope that no accommodation was possible, since the Patriarch of Constantinople refused to accept the condition which must precede any negotiation —recognition of the jurisdiction of the See of Rome and of the validity of its decrees. Moreover, the Pope

[1] *S. Leonis IX epistola* 50 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Bk. CXLIII).

believed that existing circumstances offered him a new means of disposing of these difficulties. The Emperor had imposed restraint upon his Patriarch in his political interests. To the Emperor, therefore, the Pope resolved to address himself in order to secure the complete and absolute submission of the rebel. Accordingly he dispatched to Constantinople three legates, 'plenipotentiaries of the Holy See,' entrusted with the mission of bearing his letters to the Emperor and the Patriarch and settling all matters in dispute.[1]

On their arrival in Constantinople the legates—Cardinal Humbert; Frederick, Chancellor of the Church; and Peter, Bishop of Amalfi—sought to open negotiations with Michael Cerularius. To all their overtures and advances, however, the Patriarch returned an evasive reply. He took refuge in silence, and affected to believe that the envoys of the Holy See did not possess the requisite powers to treat with him. In short, the tactics of Michael Cerularius consisted in refusing to have anything to do with the envoys of the Pope, and in letting the situation work itself out, possibly with the object of preparing some imposing demonstration of the Bishops of the East.

After waiting more than a month, however, the legates thwarted his plans. They resolved to take the final step which the circumstances imposed on them: they decided upon a breach. To this end, on Saturday, July 15, 1054, they repaired to Saint Sophia, and there laid upon the altar a Bull of excommunication directed against the Patriarch and all his adherents. On leaving the church they shook the dust from their feet, and cried, in accordance with the words of the Gospel: '*Videat Deus et judicet.*'[2]

The Bull of excommunication was taken to the Patriarch, who at first refused to receive it. Then, however,

[1] Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1899, p. 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 117 and 118.

in order—according to himself—that its contents should not be divulged, he kept it and had it translated into Greek. The development which was to be anticipated had thus occurred ; but it was not a victory for the Latins. They had obtained neither the reconciliation of Michael Cerularius with the Holy See nor his deposition. They had stopped half-way. In the upshot they had merely given new arms to their redoubtable adversary. The excommunication which was intended to overwhelm him was the occasion of his triumph, and enabled him in his turn to take the final step which he had long contemplated.[1]

After the ceremony of excommunication the legates remained only one day longer in Constantinople, where they consecrated new churches of the Latin rite before their departure. Humbert and his companions had scarcely left when Michael Cerularius—either on his own initiative or at the prompting of his sovereign—declared that he was ready to have an interview with them.[2] For this purpose it was necessary to bring them back, and the Emperor sent a letter of recall after them. They returned post-haste, and took up residence again in Constantinople in the Pigi Palace, where they awaited the orders of the Emperor. Certain indications had apparently led Constantine IX to suspect that the interview which Cerularius had proposed to the legates was nothing but an ambush into which he sought to lure them. So at least Humbert declares in his narrative, according to which the interview would have taken place in Saint Sophia, where Michael would have exhibited to the people a false Bull which he had forged, and incited them to massacre the legates.[3] The Emperor, however, made it a condition of the interview that he should be present. Probably, says Bréhier, he intended to have in the church

[1] Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1899, p. 119.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

adequate forces to protect the legates. Michael Cerularius refused this condition, and thus confirmed the terrible suspicions of the Emperor, who then instructed the legates to resume their journey.

The stroke of revenge therefore miscarried; but the Patriarch did not consider himself defeated. Being unable to satisfy his hatred against the Latins, he made the Emperor feel the weight of his wrath. At his instigation a great revolt broke out in the streets of Constantinople, and the crown and even the life of Constantine IX Monomachus were in danger.[1] Having thus obtained from the Emperor by force authority to convoke a Synod, Michael Cerularius assembled the representatives of all parties of the Greek Church in the galleries of Saint Sophia, where the Eighth Œcumenical Council which condemned Photius in 869 had been held. Twelve Metropolitans and two Archbishops signed the record of its proceedings.

The Synodal Edict which was made public at the end of this assembly was a literal reproduction of the Encyclical of Photius to the Bishops of the East, and that fact alone indicated the spirit in which it was conceived.[2] Finally a twofold ceremony gave sanction to the proceedings of the Synod. On July 20, 1054, a decree was issued by the Patriarchal tribunal against the impious Bull and against those who had contributed to its framing. Five days later the same anathema was solemnly renewed before the people, and all copies of the Bull of excommunication which had been translated into Greek and circulated by two citizens of Byzantium (who were whipped for so doing) were burned, with the exception of one which was placed in the archives of the Chartophylax.[3]

Henceforth the separation was an accomplished fact.

[1] Michael Psellos, *Règne de Constantine IX* (translated from the Greek by E. Renauld). Cahier No. 12 de 'Commerce,' 1927.

[2] Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1899, p. 124.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

The year 1054, therefore, is the decisive date in the history of the great Schism of the East. The contemporaries of Michael Cerularius, however, at Rome no less than at Byzantium, did not realise the full gravity of the acts which had been accomplished. They refused to regard the proceedings of Photius and Michael Cerularius as schisms. They regarded them rather as mere misunderstandings or unfortunate incidents which it would not be difficult to settle or efface with time and good will.[1] For this reason one seeks in vain among the official Greek historians, for example, for any details about the events of 1054.[2] They did not see, as we do, that what Photius and Cerularius had accomplished was a revolutionary act; to them it was a simple fact unworthy of mention and of handing down to posterity. It needed the passage of centuries to make them perceive its significance. They did not appreciate the importance of the Schism of 1054 until after they had experienced its distant consequences.[3]

But what had led spirits astray in the time of Michael Cerularius was the memory of Photius itself. In the later case, however, it was not, as in the ninth century, a mere question of revolt against the authority of Saint Peter, but a definite breach. Photius, by appealing repeatedly to the Pope and seeking to compromise with him, had implicitly paid homage to the claims of his

[1] It was not until a century later that these illusions began to disappear. Saint Bernard complained bitterly to Pope Eugene III of the obstinacy of the Greeks, for which he could find no solid foundation. 'They are with us and they are not,' he wrote. 'Faith unites them, peace divides them, and yet even in the Faith they limp in their turning aside from the right road.' (Saint Bernard, *Letters*, cited by Bréhier, Pref. XXV, after Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*.) On the Greek side the first to speak of the Schism was an unknown monk in the twelfth century. The brief allusion which he makes to it is largely incorrect, since he places the Schism not in 1054, but at the succession of Michael Cerularius. 'The new Patriarch,' he says, 'struck out the name of the Pope from the diptychs on his succession. This event occurred in connection with the quarrel over unleavened bread. Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, Leo, Archbishop of the Bulgarians, and all the high clergy took the side of Michael.' (Cf. Bréhier and Gfrörer.)

[2] Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1899, (preface), p. xviii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

adversaries. Michael Cerularius, on the other hand, refused from the very first day to enter into relations with Leo IX. He would not even admit the idea that his pretensions could be discussed. Far from being a rebel or an accused, he set himself up as judge and accuser. He declared heretical the Churches which refused to communicate with Constantinople and follow its usages. In so doing he established a new order of things and proclaimed the independence of the Greek Church. After that, whatever mutual concessions Greeks and Latins might make, they could not cross the gulf which Michael Cerularius had dug between them. They could never come to an understanding on the question of dogmatic authority in the Church.[1]

Notes

A. It was a certain Archimandrite Theognostus who, at the risk of his life, disguised in lay dress in order to avoid the vigilance of the Imperial police, first brought to Rome the news of the brutal deposition of Ignatius, together with the fallen Patriarch's petition to the Pope. This narrative (one of the capital pieces of evidence in the history of the schism of Photius) of the injustices and outrages to which Ignatius had been subjected after his violent expulsion from the Patriarchal throne was written by this same Theognostus himself. (Theognostus Monachus, *Libellus ad Nicolaum Papam in causa Ignatii, archiepiscopi constan.*, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Bk. 105, col. 855–56.) For the old Patriarch, overwhelmed by the ill treatment which he had suffered, had not the necessary strength to defend himself personally. Pope Nicholas I received his messenger with the good will and generosity which were characteristic of him. He honoured Theognostus with his confidence, and placed him, it is understood (Jugie, *La Vie et les Œuvres du*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

moine Théognoste, 'Bessarione,' Vol. XXXIV, 1918), at the head of one of the numerous Greek monasteries which at that time still existed in Rome.

Meanwhile Photius and his protectors and friends, the Emperor Michael and the Regent Bardas, having learned that all their intrigues had been disclosed, did everything possible to reduce the unfavourable impression which their actions were bound to create in Rome. Quickly realising that the monks, the great majority of whom had remained faithful to Ignatius and were known for their devotion to the Holy See, would not fail to denounce him at Rome, Photius in his letter to the Pope after his notorious Council of 861 (Photii, *Epist. II ;* Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. 102, col. 616), was careful to put the Pope on his guard against the statements of these deserting monks. Nicholas, however, was not at all deceived by these insinuations, directed especially against Theognostus. Accordingly, when the Emperor Michael, in an insolent letter in which the hand of Photius was plainly visible, dared to ask Nicholas to deliver up to him the Archimandrite and the monks who had followed him to the Eternal City, the Pope, in a letter full of nobility, calm, and dignity, flatly refused to accede to the demand of the 'Basileus' (*Epistola Nicolai papae I ad Michaelem imperatorem ;* Migne, *P.L.*, Vol. CXIX, col. 952). After that Theognostus lived seven years in Rome and did not return to Byzantium until after the fall of his enemies.

B. The same idea was put forward long before Photius by the anonymous author of a brief commentary on the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon (held in 451). This famous canon, against which the Popes never ceased to protest, established *the principle of the Greek schism* by affirming that the Fathers had accorded pre-eminence to the See of Ancient Rome because that city was the Imperial city, and by claiming for the See of the new Rome—that is to say Constantinople—equal privileges with those of the ancient city and the second

place after it. The logical conclusion to be drawn from these affirmations was that the See of Rome lost its primacy and passed to the second place from the day when Rome ceased to be the capital of the Empire. Such was the reasoning of the unknown author of the commentary on the twenty-eighth canon. 'It must be understood,' he wrote, 'that the Fathers gave the second place to the Church of Constantinople because at that time the old Rome was also the capital of the Empire. If therefore, as this Holy Council affirmed, the Fathers accorded the primacy to ancient Rome because of its rank as capital, now that by the will of God this city (Constantinople) is the sole capital, it has a clear title to the first place.' (Jugie, *Le plus ancien recueil canonique et la primauté du Pape*, 'Bessarione,' Vol. XXXIV, 1918.)

That was what was being written at Byzantium in the course of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century. It is true that at this time only isolated voices of some obscure writers were raised in this sense. The great majority of the Greek clergy were still composed of decided partisans of the Roman primacy. No Patriarch or high dignitary of the Byzantine Church before Photius had any idea of rivalry with the Pope. But at the time of Photius there was no longer anyone who could make a serious attempt to prevent him from beginning a struggle against Rome. The Patriarch Ignatius, who had always recognised the primacy of 'the sovereign Pastors and Pontiffs of Ancient Rome' (Mansi, *Col. S. Concil.*, Vol. XVI, col. 47), had been disgraced; other far-sighted spirits, such as the monk Theognostus of whom we have already spoken, who saw safety for the Byzantine Church against the encroachments of Cæsaro-Papism in a close union with the Apostolic See, were at a distance, and their protests could be no more than purely platonic.

If, however, there was no means of directly influencing Byzantine minds, intoxicated by the subtle, flattering words of Photius, there were indirect means, and they

were employed, to the end that the truth should not be entirely put in the shade. Among others, Saint Methodius (died 885) put his opinion on record. In his translation from Greek into Slavonic for his Slav converts of the *nomocanon*—the body of Imperial laws and ecclesiastical canons collected towards the middle of the sixth century by John the Scholiast—the apostle of the Western Slavs conceived it to be his duty to refute by two additions the commentary which had obviously been added to the twenty-eighth canon at a later date. 'It is not true, as this canon asserts,' he wrote, 'that the Holy Fathers accorded the primacy to old Rome because it was the capital of the Empire; this primacy had its origin from on high, by Divine grace. Because of the intensity of his faith Peter, the first of the Apostles, was addressed in these words by our Lord Jesus Christ himself: "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep." That is why in hierarchical order Rome holds the pre-eminent place and is the first See. That is why the privileges of old Rome are eternally immovable, and that is the view of all the Churches.'

The Slavonic text of this masterly correction has been published by the Russian scholar Pavlof in Volume IV of the Russian review *Vizantyiskyi Vriemennik* (1897), together with the Greek original which Pavlof himself had the good fortune to discover in the Laurentian Library in Florence. The same author had previously published a substantial study on the *nomocanon* itself (Pavlof, *Pervonatchainyi slaviano-rousskyi nomocanon*, Odessa, 1874), of which a manuscript copy of the fifteenth century is to be found in the monastery of Solovetsk and another in the abbey of Saint Sergius near Moscow. This *nomocanon* translated by Methodius was widely circulated not only among the Western Slavs, but also among the Russians, until the thirteenth century. Even after this period important extracts from it passed into later collections, such as the passage on the Roman

Primacy, which is still to be found in a *kormtchaia* (the name which the Russians give to their canonical collection) of the fifteenth century and in another of the sixteenth century. 'This fact,' remarks Jugie (*op. cit.*, p. 55), 'shows us that the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian copyists were not excessively shocked by the assertion of the privileges of Peter and his successors.'

C. The word 'heresy,' applied to the *Filioque*, was never employed again until very long after Photius, and did not become a current term until the twelfth century, thanks especially to the writings of the canonist Theodore Balsamon. In the preceding century the question of the addition to the Creed occupied a quite subordinate position, even in the turbulent and aggressive spirit of Michael Cerularius. In fact it may be remarked that neither the letter of Leo of Ochrida to the Bishop of Trani nor those of Michael Cerularius to Peter of Antioch, to speak only of the Greeks, made the least allusion to the *Filioque*. Certain facts, however, go to show that this question did not leave the men of that period indifferent. For example, the Bull of excommunication which was deposited by the Roman legates on the altar of Saint Sophia contains in Article VII the following charge: '. . . as enemies of God they (the Greeks) exclude from the Creed the procession from the Son' (Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental au XIe siècle*, p. 132). And Michael Cerularius replied to this attack in his Synodal edict by reproducing, almost word for word, the passage from the Encyclical of Photius referring to this question, with the addition of a summary of all the arguments employed by his predecessor.

By no means all the Greeks were so intransigent on this question as Photius or Balsamon. There were among them some, such as Theophylactus, Archbishop of Ochrida, who, though they reproached the Latins with having made an addition to the Creed, found extenuating circumstances for their 'crime.' 'In my opinion,' wrote

Theophylactus in a treatise sent to a certain deacon, Nicholas of Constantinople (about 1090), 'in this question of the *Filioque* the Latins err less through wickedness than through ignorance. They do not understand the meaning of the word "proceeding" upon which the whole debate turns, and for this they may be excused; their language is so poor that it lacks words to express subtleties of thought.' (The Greco-Latin text of the treatise of the Archbishop of Ochrida, *Liber de sacrosancta Latini Imperatoris*, edited by Bonifacio Finetti, Ord. Praedicatorum, is to be found in Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. CXXVI, col. 221–49).

Later, at the Council of Lyons (1274), other Greeks chanted the Creed with the Latin addition, under no compulsion, for Gregory X did not demand that they should recognise the dogmatic truth of the *Filioque*. At the Council of Florence (1439) several sessions were devoted to discussion of the legitimacy of the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed. And, while it is perfectly true that Mark of Ephesus did not weary of repeating that this addition had been the cause of the schism and the original stumbling-block, Nilus Cabasilas, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, whose writings were to serve as arguments for Mark, and George Scholarius at the Council of Florence, admitted that from the point of view of dogma the question remained open, and therefore refused to accuse Rome of heresy. On the other hand, the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaretus, would not concede that the Church of the East alone had the right to constitute a universal Council—in other words, he also declined to pronounce against Rome. Finally, in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, dated June 20, 1894, there is no reference to heresy or schism, but merely to discord (*dissensio*).

So, little by little, one arrives at a just appreciation of the question. If on the Greek side one encounters certain reservations, some survivals of formalism and some traces of intransigence, on the other hand the Latin Church

does not insist upon the necessity of the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Creed so long as she is assured that the dogmatic doctrine expressed in the formula is accepted. She would not compel the Eastern Churches to recite the Creed with the *Filioque* (Palmieri, *Dict. Théol. cathol.*, Bk. V, col. 2340).

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA AND THE CATHOLIC WORLD TO THE FALL OF BYZANTIUM

I

THE Russians had embraced Christianity before the definite and formal division of the Church. Even after that fateful year 1054, however, the relations of Kiev with Western Europe remained as continuous as before. Commercial transactions with Poland, Hungary, and Germany were in no way affected by this event, nor were the political and family relationships of the Princes of Kiev with their immediate neighbours, the Kings of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.[1] Until about the end of the twelfth century, moreover, the Russians did their utmost to hold the balance even between the West and the East, and let slip no occasion of manifesting their complete independence.

Such a state of affairs was obviously bound to favour the penetration of Russia by Western influence in proportion as these influences could find a powerful echo there. As a matter of fact, during several centuries Southern Russia, not to speak of the district of Novgorod, was a vast field for the activities of various categories of foreigners belonging to lay circles as well as to the religious world.

These were the circumstances in which, at the period when hostilities between Rome and Byzantium were still only intermittent, the country of Kiev was visited by Bruno of Querfurt, a monk of Saint Alexis of Rome and

[1] See Note A at end of this chapter.

disciple of Saint Romuald.[1] The object of Bruno's long and dangerous journey was to go and preach the Gospel to the Petchenegues, a nomad and half-savage tribe which roamed the south-east frontiers of the territory of Kiev. He had therefore to pass through Kiev, where the decidedly reformed Vladimir received him with much cordiality and retained him at his side for a month, during which he sought to dissuade him from undertaking his perilous mission. Being unable to do so, Vladimir accompanied Bruno in person for two days' march to the borders of the principality. There he wished him good fortune, expecting never to see him again. Bruno, however, returned safe and sound to Kiev, and was able to inform his princely host that he had converted some thirty Petchenegues. It was after this second passage through Kiev that Bruno in 1007 sent a letter to the future Emperor, Henry II the Lame, containing a long description of his journey and of his stay at the Court of Kiev and the cordial reception which he had been given by Vladimir.[2]

In the meantime, in the year 1000, Vladimir had given an equally cordial reception to emissaries of the first French Pope, the learned and pious Sylvester II, formerly Archbishop of Rheims and preceptor of the Emperor Otho III.[3] Otho was himself the nephew of Vladimir's wife, the Princess Anne, whose sister Theophanie or Theophanou, as she was called in the East, had married in 972 Otho's father, the Emperor Otho II the Red.[4] In

[1] Heine, *Der heil. Bruno von Querfurt, der Apostel der Petschenegen*, Querfurt, 1877.

[2] Library of Hamburg: Section 'Historia,' No. 321 (Fond Uffenbach). Hilferding, *Neizdannoie svidetelstvo sovremennika o Vladimire sviatom* (Unpublished Testimony of a Contemporary upon Vladimir the Pious), Moscow 1856.

[3] In the Chronicle of Nikon for the year 1000 it is written: 'In this same year came the envoys of the Pope of Rome and those of the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary.'

[4] Schlumberger, *l'Epopée byzantine à la fin de Xe siècle*, Paris 1900, Part I, pp. 192–202; Part II, pp. 250–52. Murr, *Theophaniae Augustae, Ottonis II imperatoris conjugis, corona aurea.* (Nuremberg 1804.)

sending his embassy to Kiev, Sylvester II sought to take advantage of this relationship in order to forge close links between Rome and Russia. This attempt, however, was not conspicuously successful, and the unfortunate incident which happened a few years later in the case of a Catholic prelate, by name Reinberg, scarcely improved matters.

Vladimir had married his adopted son Sviatopolk to the daughter of Boleslav the Great, King of Poland. The young Princess arrived at Kiev accompanied by her chaplain, Reinberg, formerly Bishop of Kolobreg or Colberg. Shortly after the marriage Sviatopolk, under the influence of his father-in-law, laid a plot against his adopted father and sought to bring about his abdication. Vladimir threw him into prison, together with his wife and her chaplain.[1] The Prince's action was obviously a measure of self-defence, and it was not directed against Reinberg as Bishop, but against Reinberg as the political accomplice of his treacherous adopted son. One cannot assume from it that Vladimir was systematically hostile to the Roman Church. But the imprisonment of Reinberg—during which, according to Thietmar, he succeeded in converting Sviatopolk to Catholicism—introduced a certain coldness into the relations between Kiev and Catholicism, and it was not until a quarter of a century later that the situation reverted to the normal.

The arrival of three French Bishops in Kiev in 1048 apparently broke the ice. These three Bishops, Gautier of Meaux, Goscelin of Chalignac, and Roger of Chalons, came from France to ask the Prince of Kiev, Jaroslav, for the hand of his daughter Anne on behalf of King Henry I.[2] Roger of Chalons was further entrusted by Odalric, provost of the Church of Saint Mary of Rheims,[3] with the

[1] Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, Bk. VII, Ch. 52.

[2] Aubert, *Etudes Biographiques* V, 1867. *Chronique de Champagne* (1837), II, 89–99.

[3] Dom Cellier, *Histoire des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (2a XIII, 492). *Hist. littéraire de France* (1746), VII, 86–7.

mission of verifying the legends about Saint Clement, whose relics were said to have been transferred at an earlier date from the Chersonese to Kiev.[1] The French Bishops obtained the consent of Jaroslav to the marriage of his daughter to the King of France, and also informed themselves about the veneration of the fourth Pope of Rome as a Saint on the banks of the Dnieper. They then returned to France, taking with them the young Russian Princess, whose marriage was solemnised about Easter in the following year, after which she was solemnly crowned Queen at Rheims.[2]

By a curious coincidence the death of Jaroslav, that enlightened Prince whom some historians call 'the Charlemagne of Russia,' occurred in the very year which witnessed the definite breach between the Church of the West and that of the East. His death led to the partition of Russian territory and to serious disputes among his numerous heirs. From this period dates the beginning of the decadence of Kiev, which was marked by the ever-increasing consolidation and assertion of the personal power of its Princes, and also by the progressive alienation of Russia from the rest of Europe. It is a remarkable fact that, although the Russians had never taken any part either in the doctrinal or the political quarrels of the Byzantines, they were nevertheless fated to share in all the vicissitudes of these quarrels, for no other reason than that, since their conversion to Christianity, they had been included in the Patriarchate of the East. In the words of Pierling which I have already quoted, 'One searches in vain for an exact date or an outstanding event

[1] The relics of this Pope, who, according to an ancient tradition, was exiled by Trajan to the Crimea and there martyred, were also said to have been transferred to Rome about 860 by Saint Cyril, who had found them in the Chersonese.

[2] Benzelstierna (Gust), *Genealogia Annae, reginae Gallicae, conjugis Henrici I*, in 'Acta Soc. Upsal.' (1740), 68. Translated into French in *Biblioth. académ.* (1811), VII, 1–5. Lobanoff of Rostoff (Alex.) *Recueil de pièces historiques sur la reine Anne ou Agnès, épouse de Henri Ier, Roi de France*, Paris 1825.

which can be taken as marking the beginning of the separation between Russia and the centre of unity. It happened almost casually, without any violent disturbance or any serious reason, as a result of the submission of the Russian Hierarchy to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.'[1]

In the eleventh century, however, and also in the following century, there was no such separation between Russia and the Western world as was to exist three hundred years later. It may at this period already have been too late for the ambassadors of the Popes and the Emperors to effect any change in the fundamental situation or to influence the course of ideas; nevertheless they carried with them the 'European spirit'—at that time the spirit of Catholicism—which from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries was to be conspicuous by its absence in Russia.

This 'European spirit' was obviously not estimated by the Russians at its proper worth. But it was by virtue of the neighbourliness and good manners which it taught them that the Russians of the Middle Ages were enabled to enter into close and continuous relations with the rest of Europe, that a considerable number of foreigners married Russian women, and finally that Russian princes invoked the good offices of leading personalities abroad to arbitrate upon the differences which had arisen among themselves. Such an appeal was made by Iziaslav, the direct heir of Jaroslav, when he was ousted from Kiev by his brothers and unworthily abandoned by his ally Boleslav the Bold, King of Poland.[2] The Emperor Henry IV had dispatched an embassy to Kiev in order to settle the dispute, but this had failed to expedite Iziaslav's return to his dominions and his recovery of his heritage. With the object of accelerating his restoration Iziaslav therefore sent his son to Rome, where he submitted the question to the Pope and offered to place the

[1] Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, Bk. I, p. xiii (Introduction).
[2] Pichler (Fritz), *Boleslaw II von Polen*, Budapest, 1892.

Principality of Kiev under the protection of the Holy See.

Accordingly in 1075 Gregory VII required Boleslav and his subjects to make complete restitution of all that they had seized from 'the King of the Russians.' Gregory did not confine himself to words, but also sent emissaries to Iziaslav to encourage him if necessary to proceed to deeds. It is not at all certain, however, that it was entirely due to the intervention of the Pope that Iziaslav was able to ascend the throne of his ancestors. It was not until 1076 that he returned to Kiev, after the death of his brother Sviatoslav, who had taken his place, and after an amicable settlement between himself and his younger brother Vsevolod. According to the Russian Chronicles Vsevolod surrendered Kiev of his own free will. According to the Polish Annals, however, it was only under threat of the intervention of the Polish troops of Boleslav, who were encamped around the walls of Kiev, that he contented himself with the principality of Chernigov.[1]

II

The eleventh century, so fertile in incidents of various kinds and so rich in 'promises' for the future of Russia, was not fated to end without the appearance of a further Roman embassy at the Court of Kiev. Probably it was the negotiations between Iziaslav and Gregory VII, which excited much comment at the time, that decided the Anti-Pope Clement III to try his luck in his turn. The pretext which this *protégé* of the Emperor Henry IV invoked for sending emissaries to Russia was in itself very delicate, and only his absolute ignorance of affairs in Russia can explain his action.

The question at issue was nothing less than a union between the Catholic Church and the Church in Russia.

[1] Laurentian Version of the Russian Chronicle, *Polnoie sobranie rousskikh Lietopisei*, Bks. III, IV, and V.

The Church in Russia, however, possessed no distinct and autonomous existence ; she was a branch of Byzantium ; and, if the Pope desired a union with Russia, he should have addressed himself to the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Council of the Metropolitans of the Eastern Church. Such, in substance, was the reply—couched in very courteous terms—which was made to Clement III by the Metropolitan of Kiev, John II, a prelate of Greek origin,[1] for there were at this time very few real Russians among the high dignitaries of the Church. All important ecclesiastical affairs were dealt with by the Greeks, who alone—generally speaking—were versed in studies of the canons and in the interpretation of the subtleties of dogma.[2]

While it believed that it was addressing itself to the Russian Church, Catholicism as a matter of fact was addressing itself, over a period of centuries, to the Byzantines. The Russians themselves were only occasionally affected by the homilies of Rome, and when they were directly affected it was too late. A number of Popes who, one would imagine, should have been in a better position to realise the facts, fell into the same error as the Anti-Pope Clement III.[3] This was the origin of

[1] The Metropolitan John, sent to Russia in 1077 by the Patriarch of Constantinople, was a very well informed and intelligent man, but he was fundamentally Byzantine. Not content with a verbal reply to the emissaries of Gilbert (Clement III), he sent him a long letter, friendly in tone, but full of admonitions and advice : ' I beseech you to abandon your errors, especially those concerning unleavened bread and the Holy Ghost ; for the first prejudice the Holy Communion, and the second the orthodoxy of the Faith,' the Metropolitan wrote to his ' very holy and venerated brother in Our Lord, Clement, Bishop of old Rome.' In another passage he wrote : ' I beg Your Grace to be good enough to address yourself in the first place to our most holy Patriarch of Constantinople, and to all the holy Metropolitans his co-adjutors. Then, if you please, you may write to me, the lowest among them.'

[2] See Note B at end of this Chapter.

[3] Even at the end of the fifteenth century the Vatican was very poorly informed about Russia. In 1472 an embassy from Prince Ivan III arrived in Rome to request on his behalf the hand of Sophia (Zoe), niece of the last Emperor of Byzantium, who had been brought up in the Eternal City at

numerous misunderstandings, frequent disillusionments, and a certain amount of bad feeling. In the eleventh century, however, there was no forewarning of these future disputes. The atmosphere was entirely one of peace, of tolerance, and even—what was far from being the case a few centuries later—of mutual respect for each other's religion.

Such were the peculiarities in the mentality of the Russians of that date which encouraged Catholicism to request from them hospitality for its priests and monks. In 1130 Saint Bernard played with the idea of going to Russia; but, despite the encouragement of Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, he did not carry his plan into effect. On the other hand, immediately after the establishment of the order of '*Fratres Praedicatores*' (1216) a number of them were dispatched to Poland, whence they soon penetrated into Russia. The exact date of their first

the cost and under the protection of the Pope. A Council of Cardinals was convoked to deliberate over this request. But, according to the scribe who took exact notes of this deliberation of the Cardinals, 'there was no exact information about the faith of the Russians.' The marriage, however, was approved, and permission was even given for its celebration in the Church of Peter and Paul in Rome. Why was this done? Because, as the scribe further informs us, 'the Russians had formerly accepted the Council of Florence, and had a Latin Archbishop nominated by the See of Rome (whereas the Greeks address themselves for the choice of their Archbishops to the Patriarchs of Constantinople); they now request that an envoy should be sent to them to inquire into their faith, investigate the situation, correct what may be judged erroneous, and *accept their profession of obedience.* In short, even if the Russians were altogether heretical, marriages with them in accordance with Pontifical rights would not be invalid (*non tamen ex jure pontificio irrita cum iis conjugia habentur*). The honour and benevolence of the Church their mother, moreover, appear to impose on her the duty of recalling these erring sons to her bosom.' Cf. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXIII, yr. 1472, col. 88. New Edition, Bk. XIII, Part II (*Diario Concistoriale del cardinale Ammanati*), pp. 144–45.

As Pierling points out, this was a remarkable delusion, based upon a no less remarkable ignorance of the facts. 'In the first place the Council of Florence had never been accepted by Moscow. On the contrary, its decrees were no sooner promulgated in 1441 than they were rejected with scorn. It is true that the Bull of Eugene IV was admitted at Kiev, the religious centre of the Russian provinces of Poland; but these provinces constituted a special Metropolitanship in 1458, recognised the authority of the Pope, and were completely detached from Moscow.'

appearance in Kiev is unknown. It was probably about 1228. In the history of the Order, under the date 1233, we find a mention of the existence in Kiev of a church served by the Dominicans.[1] This church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was not constructed by them, but was granted to them by the rich corporation of Italian and German merchants which possessed several others in Kiev.[2]

In 1232 Pope Gregory IX, desiring to encourage the Dominicans in their good works, issued a special Bull granting them particular rights in respect of indulgences.[3] Their tireless activity and the success of their preaching to the Russians, however, gave offence to the reigning Prince of Kiev, Vladimir Rurikovitch, who in 1233 signed a decree expelling them and formally prohibiting them from returning to his dominions.[4]

At about the same period, at the other end of the great plain of Russia, there appeared the noble figure of the Savoyard William, Bishop of Modena.[5] This was not the first time that he had visited the shores of the Baltic ; on various occasions he had already been in Prussia, Livonia, Sweden, and Denmark, preaching the Gospel, introducing reforms, and collecting Saint Peter's Pence. He had recently taken up residence at Riga when a deputation from the people of Novgorod approached him with the object of submitting to him the record of their treaty with the Teutonic Knights, who, after a number of clashes, had just concluded a truce with them.[6]

This approach by the Russians had in fact no more

[1] Jacques Quetif and Jacques Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum*, MDCCXIX, Tomus secundus, p. xvi (notitia). Mamachi, *Annal. ordinis Praedicatorum*, Rome, 1756, Bk. II.

[2] Malichevsky, *Dominikanetz Jatzek Ondrovong* (Report of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev), 1867, Bk. II.

[3] *Historica Russiae Monumenta*, Petropolis, 1841, I, 35.

[4] Goloubinsky, *Istoria rousskoi Tserkvy* (History of the Russian Church), Moscow, 1901–1904, Bk. I, pp. 808–9.

[5] Kroata (Fried), *Wilhelm von Modena*, Konigsberg, 1867.

[6] Winkelmann, *Bibl. Livon. hist.* (1869).

than a juridical significance. Its object was merely to affix the signature of the Papal legate to the document in order to secure its better observance by the Catholic Knights. It was, however, interpreted by the Vatican—still dominated by ignorance of Russian mentality and of Russian life in general—as an expression of the desire of the people of Novgorod to be instructed in the Catholic faith and to receive a legate from Rome. Accordingly Pope Honorius III in 1227 addressed a message 'to all the Princes of Russia' (*ad universos reges Russiae*), in which he extended to them an invitation to confirm the reports which had reached him regarding their desire to enter into regular relations with the Holy See.[1] This message provoked no answer, for the very good reason that neither any Russian Prince nor any Russian city had ever expressed any such desire. The Russian republics within range of the Baltic, such as those of Pskov and Novgorod, in any case held all Princes in detestation; and the Russian principalities were very far away, and their rulers at this period had no interest whatever in religious questions.

In any event, what principality at that time had any leisure to concern itself with abstract matters? The Mongol invasion was in progress, and the soil of Russia, or at least of Southern Russia, was already groaning beneath the hoofs of the Tartars' horses. Moreover Kiev, an essentially trading city, which had arisen at a junction of commercial routes, had lost all its former importance since European trade with the East had found a more direct and less expensive channel. The Duchy of Galitch, hemmed in a corner between Hungary and Poland, where it still maintained itself, thanks to the energy of its Prince Daniel, was paralysed by the ceaseless dread of being invaded by the Mongols or drawn into a war with its neighbours to the West—an experience

[1] This message of Pope Honorius III is quoted in its entirety in *Historica Russiae Monumenta*, Bk. I, p. 20.

which was no novelty for it. As for the principality of Rostov-Souzdail, the cradle of the future Kingdom (*tsarstvo*) of Moscow, which in the preceding century had been created out of almost nothing by the indomitable energy and cold and calculating brain of Andrei Bogolioubsky,[1] it was at this moment a prey of the Asiatic hordes.

Among the mass of later, confused, contradictory, and often prejudiced writings about these blood-stained and disorderly years, lit only by the sinister flames of incendiarism, we have happily a few trustworthy witnesses to guide us.[2] On the basis of their testimony it may be said that, apart from the first years of the invasion, the Mongol domination was not wholly a disaster and a sowing of ruin. For not only did it strengthen the religious consciousness of the Russian people, but it was also a good training-ground of administration and war for the rulers of the country, and paved the way for the political unity of the country which was achieved by the Grand Princes of Moscow.

[1] Andrei Bogolioubsky, who directed his efforts towards transferring the centre of gravity in Russia towards the East, was anxious that the capital of his principality, the city of Vladimir, should be created a Metropolitan See. His failure in this attempt created in him a sense of grievance against the Patriarchate of Constantinople. This came to the ears of Pope Alexander III, who sent an embassy to him in 1169 (*Chronicle of Nikon*). We have no exact information about either the precise object of this embassy or the reply which Andrei made to it. It is a historical fact, however, that in this same year 1169 Bogolioubsky, at the head of a coalition of numerous vassal princes, attacked Kiev and put to fire and sword that 'mother of Russian cities' (*mat gorodov rousskikh*), which politically never recovered from this disaster. (Cf. Pogodine, *Kniaz Andrei Iourievitch Bogolioubskyi*. John Martynov, *Annus ecclesiasticus greco-slavicus* (Dies XXIX, Memoriae Slaviae), p. 164. Goloubinsky, *Istoria rousskoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), Bk. I, Part I, pp. 330–32, 597).

[2] Petoukhof, *Serapion Vladimirski, rousskyi propovednik XIII veka* (Serapion of Vladimir, Russian preacher of the thirteenth century), Saint Petersburg, 1888. *Slovo o poguibeli rousskia zemli* (The Story of the Ruin of Russia). (Cf. Loparev, *Pamiatnini drevnei pismennosti*, Saint Petersburg, 1892, vol. 84.) Sreznievskyi, *Drevnia pamiatniki* (Ancient Memorials), Saint Petersburg, 1882. *Povest o prikhode Batya* (Record of the Coming of Baty), 'Vremennik,' XIV.

The Mongols,[1] of course, reduced to ashes cities which offered an obstinate resistance to them, and ruined the principalities which stood out against them. But, once the years of invasion were over, they left things very much as they were and did not interfere with the people, so long as they duly paid their tribute. They altered neither the fundamental Russian laws nor the ecclesiastical constitution of the territories which they had conquered. They even permitted the creation of a Greco-Russian bishopric at the centre of their power—the city of Saroi. So long as the Mongols themselves remained faithful to paganism they did not touch the domain of the Christian religion. 'The Tartars,' says an eminent contemporary, 'compelled nobody to renounce his faith or his laws.'[2]

In the vehement protests which were raised by certain Russian prelates, such as Serapion,[3] against the atrocities of the Tartars at the time of the Mongol domination, we must therefore see not so much a faithful record of the situation which the invaders created for the national Church as the pursuit of means of influencing the minds and winning the souls of their flocks. These prelates, following the example of the annalists, represented the Tartar invasion as a warning, a Divine punishment, provoked by sin, lack of faith, and attachment to pagan customs.

This invasion and the very prolonged Asiatic domination, however, were responsible for the appearance in Russia of an aristocracy of semi-Oriental stock, resulting from numerous inter-marriages between Russian princes and dignitaries and the daughters or relations of the Mongol Khans. This aristocracy naturally showed little disposition towards Western ideas and European ways of

[1] See Note C at end of this chapter.

[2] Giovanni de Plano Carpini, *Relations des Mongols ou Tartares*. French trans. and notes by d'Avezac, Paris, 1838.

[3] See Note D at end of this chapter.

life, belief, and thought. From this period, accordingly, dates the orientation towards the East of the domestic life of the Russians.

This is not to say that no Oriental influence made itself felt in Russia before the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries: the Russian people had too much Turanian and Finnish blood in their veins for any such assertion to be sustainable; but such earlier influence as there was exerted itself in the mass of the people intermittently and sporadically, and it was never entirely one-sided. The Mongol or Tartar influence, on the other hand, manifested itself almost entirely in the ruling classes of the country, and there was no reaction against it. The Russian princes and nobles appear to have been more malleable and more easily influenced, or at least less resistant, than a simple '*krestianine*' or homely moujik.

But, despite the frequent immigrations and repeated occupations of the Golden Horde, not all of them allowed themselves to be 'Mongolised.' The mass was leavened by some princes and nobles who, thanks to their strength of character, their early education, or their sympathies and leanings towards that 'European spirit' which was then represented by Catholicism, were adequately inoculated against the Oriental virus. Among their number was that Daniel Romanovitch, whose life was so intimately linked with the destiny of the principality of Galitch.[1]

III

What is called to-day 'pre-Carpathian Russia' (*Prikarpatskaia Rouss*) or 'Red Russia' (*Tchervonnaia Rouss*) became an independent State at the time when the principality of Kiev had begun to decline. It was called the Principality of Galitch from the name of its then capital, now a little decayed town of so-called Eastern Galicia.

[1] Dachkevitch, *Kniajenie Daniila Galitzkago* (The Reign of Daniel of Galitch), Kiev, 1873. Soloviev, *Daniil Galitsky* ('Sovremennik,' 1874).

Inhabited by Slavs who with justice claimed to be closely related to the people of Kiev, Galitch had, however, a very different history and a quite dissimilar destiny. Pinched in as it was between Poland and Hungary, in order to preserve its independence it had early to create a powerful army, at the head of which were placed the best officers to be found among the former military leaders of the country of Kiev. These were soon joined by other fugitives from East and West—from Russia as well as from Poland and Hungary. So, little by little, there developed in the principality of Galitch a military nobility which handed on its power to an oligarchy of magnates of aristocratic tendencies, in whose eyes the Prince merely represented executive authority. A country so governed could obviously maintain with the rest of Russia, fundamentally democratic and later strongly autocratic, nothing but a federal connection, which was itself broken as soon as Southern Russia ceased to exist as an independent political unit.[1]

Prince Daniel, who had succeeded his illustrious father, Romain, the first prince of independent Galicia, had his hands full with his haughty barons and his greedy and grasping neighbours. He had also to perform impossibilities in the effort to preserve his duchy from the exactions of the envoys of the Great Khan of the Mongols. He was, in short, at the end alike of his patience and his resources when, on his return from the Golden Horde, where he had been compelled to go to pay his homage, he found awaiting him at home Fra Giovanni de Plano Carpini, who had brought with him from Cracow his young brother Vassilko.[2]

The illustrious Franciscan, who had been sent by Innocent IV in 1245 or 1246 on a peaceful mission to

[1] Hilferding, *Sobranie sotchinenyi* (Complete Works), Saint Petersburg, 1868, Bk. II, p. 433.

[2] Johannis de Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, Cap. ultimum, par. III, 2 and par. IV, 2.

the Mongol Khans, became much interested in the fate of the land of Galitch and of its Prince. Accordingly he broached the possibility of intervention by the Pope, or at least assistance from him. Daniel asked nothing better than to put his hand to a pact of union with Rome, and needed no pressing to accept the assistance which was offered him, more especially as he knew that an important part of the Galician clergy were in favour of a complete understanding with the Holy See.

Acting upon the report of Giovanni de Plano Carpini, Innocent IV promised Daniel his aid against the Tartars, and sent him a Royal crown, with which Daniel in 1253 had himself crowned at Drogitchine by the legate Opizoni as King of Galicia.[1] In the same year the Pope proclaimed a Crusade against the Mongols. But his appeal remained without response. Nobody offered to go to the aid of the land of Galicia and its new King. Daniel therefore broke with the Holy See, and made ready to resist the Mongol invasion to the best of his own ability.

After the death of Daniel, in 1264, the principality of Galitch passed to several Princes of his family, of whom the last was one Boleslav-Iouryi, assassinated in 1340, whom a contemporary document calls 'Dei gratia natus dux minoris Russiae.' This term 'minoris Russiae' was here used for the first time. In the fourteenth century Galitch was absorbed by the Kingdom of Poland. In 1361 a Catholic bishopric was established at Lwow, the

[1] *Historica Russiae Monumenta*, Petropolis, 1841, Bk. I, p. 57, No. 62. To Giovanni de Plano Carpini (Odorico Raynaldo, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tomus sec., pp. 408–9) there has also been attributed the conversion of another Russian Prince, Alexander of Rostov-Souzdal (Alexander Newsky). This, however, is pure legend. It is perfectly true that, through the medium of his '*protonotario*,' Giovanni de Plano Carpini, Pope Innocent IV addressed to 'Alexandrum Ducem Susdaliensem' a letter dated Lyons, the tenth of the Kalends of February, 1248 (*Historica Russiae Monumenta*, Bk. I, p. 68, No. 78). But there is no authority for believing that this letter had any effect upon the conqueror of the Swedes at the battle of Ijora and of the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Order at the battle of Lake Tchud (*Tchudskoie ozero*). On the contrary, history informs us that throughout his life Alexander remained a most convinced 'Orthodox.'

new capital of the duchy and seat of an Orthodox Metropolitan; and on February 13, 1375 there was promulgated the Bull *Debitum pastoralis officii*, which served as a basis for the complete organisation in Galicia of a Catholic clergy following the Latin rite. The land of Galitch was definitely lost to Russia.

IV

After the duchy of Galitch had lost its independence there happened at Moscow an isolated event which at the time provoked much discussion. It occurred after the return from Florence to his Metropolitan residence of the celebrated prelate Isidore. Before the Metropolitan Isidore went to Florence for the Œcumenical Council which Pope Eugene IV had convoked in the year 1438, it had already been whispered that he was by no means hostile in principle to a union with Rome, and that he believed that only a stupid misunderstanding in the interpretation of certain dogmas had separated the two Churches.

There were on record some letters written by Isidore before his promotion to the Metropolitan See of Russia which gave colour to these views.[1] But what set tongues wagging more furiously than ever was the absolutely dominating *rôle* which Isidore played during the Council of Florence,[2] and the fact—unique in history—that this Orthodox prelate returned to his diocese bearing the Roman purple and invested with the title of Apostolic legate for Russia.

The reception which the people of Kiev and their Prince Alexander gave their 'Father the Metropolitan' on his return from Italy was very dutiful.[3] Isidore's difficulties did not begin until 1441, when he went to

[1] These letters, six in number, were published by Regel in his *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, Petropolis, 1891.

[2] Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, Vienna, 1878. J. D. Mansi, *Collectio S. Conciliorum* (Florentinum oecumenicum Concilium), Vol. 31, pp. 459–1085.

[3] *Istoricheskia akty* (Historical Documents), Bk. I, No. 259.

Moscow to present to the Grand Prince Vassily a friendly letter from the Pope. During the first Pontifical Mass in the Cathedral of the Assumption, in the presence of the Grand Prince, Isodore substituted for the prayers for the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church a prayer for the Holy Father the Pope, and after the Mass read the decision of the Council of Florence from the *ambo*.

It was a fine scandal. Forgetful of the sanctity of the place, beside himself with fury, the Grand Prince Vassily roughly rebuked Isidore for what he called his knavery and treachery. He had Isidore removed by force from the altar, and placed him in the monastery of Tchoudov under strong guard. Isidore, however, succeeded in making his escape, and betook himself to Tver. It was a bad choice, for the Prince of Tver also threw him in prison. But once again Isidore escaped and took refuge at Novogrodek in Lithuania. Thence he made his way to Rome, where he spent the rest of his days.[1] His *rôle* of mediator between Moscow and the Holy See was in any case finished, for shortly after his first imprisonment the Grand Prince Vassily convoked a Synod of Orthodox Bishops which proclaimed the deposition of the felon Metropolitan and in the name of the whole Russian people rejected the proposed union with Rome.

Notes

A. In the main the separation of the Church had no unfavourable reaction upon matrimonial alliances between the Russian rulers and foreign princesses, or vice versa, at least until the middle of the twelfth century. The Grand Prince Jaroslav, for example, who in 1019 had married the Swedish Princess Inguiguerde (called Irene by the Russians) married three of his sons and all his three

[1] Strahl, *Der Russische Metropolit Isidor*, Tubingen, 1823. Migne, *Patrologia* (Series Graeca Posterior), Vol. 159. *Archiv. soc. Orient. lat.* (1884), II, 288–93. Hofmann (G.), *S. I. Kardinal Isidor von Kiev* ('Orientalia Christiana'), No. 26, Rome, 1926.

daughters to Roman Catholic princesses and princes. As for his son Vsevolod, he was certainly the best related ruler in Europe at that time, for he was the father-in-law of the Emperor of Germany Henry IV, and numbered among his brothers-in-law the King of France, Henri I, the King of Norway Harald, the King of Denmark Sven, etc. On the other hand, in the eleventh to twelfth centuries there were only three Russian princes who married Greeks. (Cf. N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogie et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes*, 'Orientalia Christiana,' Vol. IX, i, 1927.)

All these alliances were highly displeasing to the Byzantines. With the object of alienating the Russians from the Roman Catholics the representatives of the Patriarch of Constantinople at Kiev did their utmost to paint foreign Courts and their sovereigns in the blackest colours. One of these Greek prelates, the famous Metropolitan John II, went so far as to proclaim publicly (in his famous *Canonical Replies*, addressed to a certain monk Jacob according to the hypothesis of Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, Stuttgart, 1905) that 'it is unworthy and indeed indecent that the daughters of the Grand Prince should marry among those who communicate with unleavened bread. If the most pious and most Orthodox Prince by the grace of God contracts such alliances for his children he will be punished by the Church.' (Pavlof, *Otryvki gretcheskago teksta kanonitcheskikh otvietov rousskago Metropolita Ionna II.* Fragments of the Greek text of the Canonical Replies of the Metropolitan John II, Saint Petersb., 1873.) And, doubtless in order to stiffen this undisguised threat, the Metropolitan added: 'It is not permitted to have relations in common or to celebrate the Holy Mass with those who use fermented bread and who, during the week of the Tyrophagia (that is, the last of the four weeks preparatory to Lent which are called in Russian *synopoustnaia nedelia*), eat flesh and nurture themselves with blood and

meat.' (Cf. Maltzew, *Fasten und Blumen-Triodion*, Berlin, 1899.)

Such intolerance for other cults had no part in the character of the Russians, who in any case had no reason whatever for dislike of the Pope and the peoples of the West. Accordingly for a long time they turned a deaf ear to all the recriminations of the Byzantines. The hostility of the Greeks towards the Latins was, of course, well known in Russia at the beginning of the twelfth century, but a considerable lapse of time passed before the princes of Kiev were persuaded to share the animosity of the Greeks towards the Roman Catholics.

Among the Greek prelates who devoted themselves to this task the most ardent in the twelfth century were the Metropolitan Nicephorus and the *hygomenos* of the Abbey of the Catacombs at Kiev, Theodosius. Two *Epistles* of Nicephorus addressed to the Prince of Kiev, Vladimir Monomachus, are known, of which the first deals with the division of the Churches of West and East, and the second with fasting. Theodosius was the author of a treatise on the ' heresies ' of the Latins. (Cf. Popof, *Istoriko literatournyi obsor drevne roussikikh polemitcheskikh otnochenyi protiv Latynian* (Historical and literary outline of the ancient polemical Russian treatises against the Latins, Moscow, 1875.)

Once the impulse had been imparted to them, some Russian ecclesiastics saw fit to imitate the Greeks by composing in their turn pamphlets against the Latins, of which a certain number were later attributed, in an entirely arbitrary fashion, to authors of the preceding century. A similar spirit was displayed in the handling of the *Canonical Replies* and the letter of the Metropolitan John II to Clement III, from which the name of the Anti-Pope and all the author's friendly references to the Westerners were carefully expunged. Thus truncated John's letter was published under the sensational title of ' Instructions of the Seven Councils against the

Latins,' and it assumed all the appearance of a pure diatribe against the Roman Catholics.

B. The relations of the Byzantine Church with Russia were developed in the course of centuries through a sort of juridical and canonical tutelage and a spiritual or dogmatic influence. In both of these domains, however, Byzantium early encountered an obstinate resistance on the part of the Russians, which most often was overcome only by trickery or thanks to the support of the supreme power. The tutelage of Byzantium in the juridical sphere was not officially abolished until a national Patriarchate was created in the sixteenth century. The fact, however, should not be overlooked that some glimmerings of religious independence manifested themselves from the beginning of the thirteenth century, in lay circles as well as among the clergy.

The most energetic and convinced champion of such liberty of action at this time was the Metropolitan of Kiev, Clement, one of the rare prelates of purely Russian origin, and a man unusually well educated for his generation and environment, since he read Homer, Plato, and Aristotle in the original text and valued them highly. Supported by the Prince Regent Iziaslav II, he undertook a vigorous campaign to free the Russian Church from Byzantine tutelage. He failed in this attempt in consequence of the opposition of a part of the Russian clergy and the intrigues of the Greeks; but the seed which he had sown was not lost.

After the death of Clement the movement was renewed by the monks of the great Monastery of the Catacombs at Kiev, who were jealous guardians of democratic principles and convinced defenders of the national idea (this in spite of the fact that certain priors (*igoumeny*) of the monastery were of Greek origin and wholly Byzantine in their sympathies). It was manifested at the same period by the following words addressed by a prince of Kiev—Rostislav—to the envoys of Byzantium on the occasion

of the nomination of a new Metropolitan presented by the Patriarch of Constantinople: 'Through friendship and out of consideration for the august person of the Emperor (of Byzantium) we are glad to accept within our walls the new Metropolitan (John). But, if the case should be repeated, and if a Metropolitan should be sent again from Byzantium without prior notice and without asking our consent, contrary to the prescriptions of the Holy Apostles, then we shall not only refuse to receive him, but we shall issue an everlasting law by which the right of choosing and nominating Bishops shall henceforth belong exclusively to the will of the Grand Prince.' Later this zeal for independence was lost in the meanderings of the religious life of Russia until it finally reappeared at the Court of the first Muscovite Tsars.

The spiritual influence of Byzantium was combated no less energetically. But the struggle on this ground was undertaken at a much later date, after the Russian Church had finally formulated its own mysticism. Its progress, moreover, was slow, being handicapped by the counter-offensives of the Byzantines—first in the time of the Grand Prince Ivan III, who, having married a Byzantine princess, lived surrounded by a large number of Greeks who had come to Russia in the suite of their august compatriot; then at the period of the 'reign' of the authoritarian Patriarch Nikon, who was impregnated by the thought of the Greeks, and sought to copy them in everything. This tendency to return to sheer Byzantinism—after Muscovy through the mouth of preachers and theologians such as Sylvester Medvedief had frequently contested the 'orthodoxy' of the Greeks and the purity of their faith, and after the country was turning further and further away from their mode of thought—was one of the causes of the disgrace and downfall of this Patriarch. After the disgrace of Nikon there was a fresh withdrawal of Byzantine influence, this time definitely. But the

ebbing of the Greek tide left a prodigious mass of heteroclite things on the shore.

C. There is as yet no agreement on the etymology of the word 'Mongol.' The opinion which is most widely supported is that of Sanang Setzen (Ssanang Ssetsen, *Chung Taidschi, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen.* Translated from the Mongol by J.-J. Schmidt, Saint Petersburg, 1829), who took the view that the name 'Mongol' came from the word *mong*, which in Chinese means 'brave.' As to the word 'Tartar,' if we are to conform to its correct pronunciation, used in Persia, Russia, and in the East, we should eliminate the first 'r,' which was arbitrarily introduced by Europeans of the time of Pope Innocent IV and adopted by this Pope himself (*Ad sua Tartara Tartari detrudentur*).

The Middle Ages in Europe were familiar with a great number of legends and stories, all more or less fantastic, about the origin of the Mongols. (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Major*, Ed. Rolls, pp. 76 *et seq.*, 386 *et seq.*) Roger Bacon declared that they were the soldiers of Anti-Christ. Giovanni de Plano Carpini saw in them the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel whom Alexander the Great had shut up in the high mountains bordering on the Caspian Sea, and thus attributed to them a Semitic origin. Finally there were those who persuaded themselves—and persuaded others—that the Mongols were the subjects of Prester John, about whom there was much discussion at this period, though nobody was able to give any precise information either about his origin or the exact locality of the fantastic kingdom of which he was reputed to be the sovereign.

It was partly with the object of throwing light on the subject, but mainly to see if there was no chance of converting these terrible people—for, it was argued in Europe, once the Mongols were converted to the faith of Christ they would cease to invade the West and lay waste Christian lands—that Giovanni de Plano Carpini

was dispatched to the East by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, and William Rubruck (Rubruquis) by the most Christian King Louis IX, in 1253. From both the diplomatic and the religious points of view these missions met with no success; but on the other hand they increased very materially the degree of information which we possess about the Mongols of that period. The stories of their journeys by these two monks may unhesitatingly be placed side by side with those of Marco Polo and Don Clavijo.

(For information about the Mongols see the classic work of Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, 3 vols., London, 1876–88. Hammer Purgstalb, *Geschichte der Goldener Hord von Kiptschak*, Buda-Pest, 1840. Herbert M.J. Loewe, *The Mongols*, in *The Eastern Roman Empire*, Vol. IV of 'The Cambridge Mediæval History,' Cambridge, 1923; and finally Bouvat (L.), *L'Empire Mongol*, Col. 'Histoire du Monde,' Paris, 1927.)

D. The biographical details which we possess about Serapion are scanty enough. The Chronicle of Voskresensk (*Voskresenskaia lietopis*) merely informs us that Serapion, after having been for some time Archimandrite (Abbot) of the monastery of Petchesk, was consecrated Bishop of Vladimir in 1274 and died in 1275. The annalist adds that Serapion was a man 'well informed upon the Holy Scriptures'—a wise precaution, for the writings of the Bishop of Vladimir (five sermons devoted almost entirely to description of the Tartar invasion) are not exactly the works of a great theologian. He cannot, however, be denied some literary quality, and one must concede to his writings that their language is supple and taking, marked by simplicity, but not lacking in picturesqueness of expression and especially in warmth and sincerity. Of these long homilies, three deal with the situation created in Russia by the Tartar invasion. Only the last two are concerned with other manifestations of 'Russian reality,' notably the proof by water inflicted on sorcerers and the custom of exhuming the bodies of

suicides, due to the popular belief that such bodies brought bad weather and so damaged agricultural interests.

These are the terms in which Serapion, in one of his sermons, described the Mongol invasion: 'God sent upon us a people without pity, a people full of wickedness which was checked neither by the weakness of age, the helplessness of infancy, nor the beauty of youth. We have drawn down upon ourselves the wrath of our God, and now the churches of God are destroyed, the sacred vessels defiled, the sanctuary trampled underfoot, the servants of God molested, and the bodies of the Holy Thaumaturges thrown to the birds to pick. The blood of our fathers and our brothers soaks the earth like an abundant flood. The valour of our princes departed from them, and our brave men fled, full of terror. A great number of our sons and our brothers have been carried into captivity. Our towns and our villages are abandoned, and the surrounding forest swallows them. Our greatness is no more. The heathen have seized the fruits of our labour and our soil has become their heritage. Finally we ourselves have become a subject of reproach to our neighbours and of mockery to our enemies. And why is all this? Because we have called down upon our heads, instead of the bountiful rain, the wrath of God.'

CHAPTER IV

THE 'UNIATE' MOVEMENT IN SOUTH-WEST RUSSIA

I

AFTER many vicissitudes and mortifications the old 'country of Kiev' was annexed in the middle of the fourteenth century by the Russo-Lithuanian Duchy of Guedimine.[1] But a few dozen years later, thanks to the marriage of one of the descendants of this prince to the Queen of Poland, it found itself a part of the new Polish-Lithuanian State of Vladislav Jagellon.[2] Removed henceforth from the jurisdiction of Moscow, but continuing to be a dependency of Byzantium—for the idea of union with Rome had as yet made only a fugitive appearance—South-West Russia from the beginning of the fourteenth century became a separate Metropolitanship.

But after the Act of Union of Lublin, which in 1569 drew closer the political bonds which united Lithuania to Poland, 'the Orthodox countries' (Kiev, Volhynia, and Polesia) passed into complete dependence upon the government of Cracow. Immediately the idea of union with Rome assumed a scope and force such as it had never known before. The fact of having to depend for all nominations and exchanges upon the Patriarch of

[1] Hrouchevskyi, *Otcherk istorii Kievskoi Roussi ot smerti Iroslava do kontza XIV stoletia* (History of the Country of Kiev from the death of Jaroslav to the end of the fourteenth century), Kiev, 1891.

[2] Galitzine (A.), *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*. Klaczko, *Une Annexation d'autrefois : Hedwige et Jagellon* ('Revue des Deux Mondes,' 1869, LXXXII).

Constantinople, who was only the shadow of a shadow, began to appear more and more ridiculous, not to say humiliating and intolerable, to many Russian prelates and even simple priests.

These circumstances, however, would never have sufficed in themselves to launch a decisive movement if the ground had not been prepared by a very active and cleverly conducted propaganda, which enjoyed the good will of high dignitaries of the Russian Church of Poland. A certain Peter Skarga, a Jesuit and rector of the college of Vilna, was the first to develop the thesis of the unity of the Church in an erudite and ardent book published in Polish in 1577.[1] Revised, translated into Russian, and republished in 1590, this work made a profound impression and undoubtedly led the way to the first meeting of the dignitaries of the Russian Church, held in Brest-Litovsk in 1595.

Skarga's book first set on record the causes which, in his opinion, had placed the Russian Church in jeopardy and created discord within it: (1) the marriage of priests; (2) the use of Slavonic in the liturgy; (3) the interference of laity in the affairs of the Church and the subordination of the clergy to the good will of such laymen.[2] As a remedy the work contemplated a union with Rome, which would involve little or no interference with the rites of the Russian Church. But, in order to prepare the ground for the return of the Church to unity, the learned Jesuit was of opinion that it would first be necessary: (1) to accept the *Credo* of the Latins in its entirety; (2) to transfer from Constantinople to Rome the right

[1] Skarga (P.), *O jednosci Kosciola Bozego* (Concerning the unity of the Church of God), Vilna, 1577. Berga (A.), *Un prédicateur de la cour de Pologne, Pierre Skarga*, Paris, 1916.

[2] Such were the arguments which in his ill-informed zeal Skarga developed in the first edition of his book. In the second, however (1590), bearing in mind that the Catholic Church respected different rites and that she permitted the marriage of priests in the Church of the East, he suppressed these propositions.

to nominate the Metropolitan of Kiev ; and (3) recognise the Pope as supreme head of the Church.

In his efforts to attain the desired goal Skarga was soon seconded by another Jesuit, the celebrated Antonio Possevino.[1] Possevino, who was a man of superabundant activity, always on the heights or in the valleys, hastening between Warsaw and Moscow, between Cracow and Rome, had long dreamed of a union of the ' Pravoslavny ' with the Holy See. To this end he had been in relations for some time with a very rich and well-known Russo-Polish magnate, Prince Ostrog or Ostrogsky, who was always surrounded by Greco-Slav priests and monks, and exercised an enormous influence over the Russian population of the whole area. But ' this old fox,' as Father Pierling calls him, who manœuvred between Rome and Byzantium from the point of view of religion, and between Moscow and Cracow from the point of view of politics, was in reality nothing but a complete egoist from whom nothing could ever be drawn beyond vague promises and evasive words.

Possevino, having abandoned hope of bringing Prince Ostrog over to his views, was ready to lend his aid to Skarga ; and, having front-door as well as back-stairs access to the Court of Poland, he discussed the matter with the successor of Stephen Batory. King Sigismund allowed himself to be convinced the more readily as he very soon realised the political profit which he would derive from the union of his Russian subjects with the Roman Church. Orthodoxy drew them nearer to Moscow, whereas Catholicism would attach them to Poland.[2]

[1] Possevino (Antonius), *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum* (Venetiis, 1603). *Moscovia et alia opera*, 1587. Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (vol. II, 1898).

[2] It was a traditional feature of Polish policy to thwart any union between Rome and Moscow. During the reign of the Tsar Ivan IV, for example, ' it was in vain that Pius IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII tried as many as six times to send their envoys to the Kremlin. They never succeeded in getting there. Not that Ivan discouraged them—he did not even know that these

The best and quickest way of reaching union, in Possevino's opinion, was to come to a direct understanding with the Russian prelates who were discontented with Byzantine tutelage or tired of it. So, having assured himself of the sympathy and even the tacit support of the King of Poland—from whom he had secured a promise that the Russian Bishops should have the same title to sit in the Senate as the Catholic prelates[1]—Possevino began his campaign. After prolonged and mysterious negotiations he succeeded in bringing together three high dignitaries of the Russian Church: the Metropolitan of Kiev, Michael Ragoza; his vicar, Cyril Bishop of Lutzk; and Bishop Hypatius (Adam) Poteyi, a man of great strength of character and colossal intellect. All three signed an act of adherence to the Holy See.

This happened in 1594. In the following year there was held at Brest the first assembly of Russian bishops, which recognised the Papal primacy of jurisdiction and came to an agreement with Rome on dogma which was regulated in accordance with the principle of the Council of Florence: unity in faith, variety in rites. After this the same prelates drafted an address to the Pope which two of them, Hypatius Poteyi and Cyril Terletzky, bore to Rome and solemnly laid at the feet of Clement VIII on December 23, 1595.

Ruthenis receptis, proclaimed the medal which was struck to commemorate the occasion. Alas! nobody at

embassies were endeavouring to reach him; it was Sigismund Augustus, Maximilian II, Stephen Batory who, one after the other, put insurmountable obstacles in the way of the passage of the Pontifical envoys.' (Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, II, Intro., XXVIII). In acting in this manner Poland believed that she was safeguarding the privilege which she had possessed for centuries of representing Catholicism where the Slav peoples were concerned. But in fact her fears had no basis in reality; Muscovy would never have deprived her of this prerogative, for the simple reason that the Grand Princes and the Tsars of Moscow never seriously contemplated an understanding with the Holy See, much less a close union.

[1] This promise unfortunately was never kept. This was not the least of the causes of the semi-failure of the union.

that time could suspect how much bitter irony was contained in those words. Back in their own country, the envoys of the Russian clergy presented their report before a solemn assembly which was held in the month of October 1596, again in the city of Brest. In addition to the promoters of the movement, with Skarga and the Metropolitan of Kiev at their head, there were present a large number of other bishops and priests, 'Uniate' as well as Catholic.[1]

It is probable that everything would have passed off with the greatest harmony and to the great good of the Church—for ecclesiastical opposition to union was but feebly represented—if there had not been held in the same city at the same time as this Council another assembly convoked by the laity, principally by members of those famous 'brotherhoods' which gave the Russian clergy so much anxiety. The ecclesiastics had made a mistake in failing to prepare their parishioners adequately for the projected changes and to parry the action of the brotherhoods which, since the Russian Church in Poland had been deprived of powerful support in high places, played an increasingly important part in ecclesiastical life to the point of controlling all its actions.

The laity have always enjoyed in the Church of the East a wider prerogative of supervision over ecclesiastical administration than has been accorded them in the West. Moreover, the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the support of the other Eastern Patriarchs, sensing that the high Orthodox clergy of Poland were moving towards Rome, had organised the people in these brotherhoods, called '*stavropigiales*,' whose members had the privilege of being removed from the jurisdiction of the local Bishops and of coming directly under that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The manœuvre had been a great success. The brotherhoods organised schools and

[1] Likowski (Mgr Edward), *Unia Brzeska* (The Union of Brest), Poznan, 1896 (2nd revised edn., Warsaw, 1907).

printing presses which were not under the control of the Episcopate, and mounted vigilant guard over the defence of Orthodoxy.

Accordingly, assembled in the neighbourhood of the house in which the meeting of the Bishops was being held, the laity breathed hell and damnation against union and its promoters. Under the influence of a representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople—who had succeeded in penetrating into Poland despite the barrier which the King had interposed against the sending of emissaries by the Patriarch—and also of Prince Ostrog, who threw his name and his immense fortune into the scales, the assembly of delegates of the religious brotherhoods, not content with condemning those of the Bishops who had followed Skarga and Ragoza, decided to expel them from their dioceses and to break off all relations with the Catholics, and consequently with Rome itself.

This was the point of departure of a prolonged and sterile struggle between two factions of the population of the Russian provinces of Poland. Very soon, abandoning purely religious ground, it developed into a national political and administrative question. It assumed exaggerated and menacing dimensions. All classes of the population took part in it, the law courts were involved in it, and the Diet had to intervene to protect the Bishops and safeguard the churches. To make matters worse, resort was had not only to the secular arm, but also to brute force. Bands of pillagers appeared in the country, which ravaged especially the property of the Uniates.[1]

Peace, or rather the semblance of peace, was not restored until several decades after the second assembly of Brest; and this peace itself was frequently troubled by risings of Cossacks, who loved to advertise themselves as convinced champions of Orthodoxy. One of their chiefs, the Hetman Konachevitch Sagaidatchnyi, played

[1] Father Pierling, *op. cit.*, Bk. II. *Rousskaia Istoritcheskaia Biblioteka* (Russian Historical Library), Vol. VII.

a great part, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the re-establishment of the Orthodox dioceses.

In 1620 the Patriarch of Constantinople, Theophanes, passed through Kiev and consecrated six Bishops. Finally, in 1632, the King of Poland, Vladislav, agreed to recognise the legitimacy of the Orthodox Metropolitan See of Kiev, and consented to the nomination of four Bishops belonging to the Russo-Greek Church. This resulted inevitably in a considerable relaxation of intellectual and emotional tension. The Uniate Church, however, continued to exist, despite all sorts of mortifications, even after the partition of Poland and the measures taken against it by Catherine the Great.

Not until 1839 was it suppressed by the iron hand of Nicholas I. Then, by Imperial decree, all the 'Uniates' of the South-West provinces of Russia were incorporated by force within the pale of the Russo-Greek Church. Under Alexander II, from 1866 to 1875, the forced liquidation of the last vestiges of the union in Russian territory was effected in the district of Chelm. This persecution has been the subject of a novel by Reymont, which M. Paul Cazin translated into French under the title *The Apostolat of the Knout*. But the Uniate Church persisted under the Austrian *régime* in Galicia, and to-day it numbers more than three million adherents, organised in three Bishoprics, whose supreme head is the Metropolitan of Lwow (Lemberg), Mgr Andrew Szepticky.

II

The Uniate Church of South-West Russia was adorned, apart from its first organisers, by other men remarkable for their intellectuality, their energy, their learning, or their piety. One may make bold to state that it was thanks largely to them that it survived the snares which were laid for it by the Byzantines and the attacks to which it was subjected by rebellious Cossack chiefs.

One of the purest and most popular apostles of union with Rome was the celebrated Archbishop of Polotzk, Josophat Kounzevitch or Kouncewicz. He was martyred in 1623, and Pope Pius IX added him to the number of saints.[1] A wise man, if not a saint, was Meletyi Smotritzky. His life was extraordinarily stirring and rich in incidents, which illustrate in a striking fashion the manners and mentality of the circles and the period in which he lived. On his return from Germany, whither he had gone to finish the studies which he had begun at the Jesuit college at Vilna, Meletyi was nominated by the Patriarch of Constantinople as Bishop of Polotzk. Long before this nomination, however, he had already thought of returning to the Roman obedience, and he had even gone so far as to propose an assembly of the Greco-Russians to discuss the great question of restoring the unity of the Church.

The Orthodox clergy at first seemed to favour this proposal, but finally they gave it no encouragement. Smotritzky, who was not disposed to tolerate the tutelage of the Patriarch and had no taste for an administrative position, asked to be relieved of his functions. When this request was granted he retired to the monastery of Dermansk, where he was soon nominated prior. Here, in 1627, he went over definitely to the Uniate Church, which, however, he requested to keep his conversion secret, so that he might more easily devote himself to proselytism.

In the following year, while taking part in a council (*sobor*) at Grodek, he pleaded warmly and with great skill the cause of reunion, pointing out to the assembled prelates of what small importance, from the point of view of dogma, were the differences which divided the Churches, and underlining the fact that only the obstinate insistence of the 'Pravoslavny' upon the letter of

[1] Guépin (Dom Alphonse), *Un apôtre de l'union des Eglises au XVIIe siècle. Saint Josaphat et l'Eglise gréco-slave en Pologne et en Russie*, Paris, 1897–98, 2 vols.

Orthodoxy prevented unity. The Council admitted the fundamental force of Meletyi's arguments and decided to intensify the propagation of these ideas among the mass of the faithful.

Meanwhile Smotritzky made a journey to Palestine, whence he brought back the outline of the great work which he entitled *Apologia peregrinaciey do krajow wschodnych*.[1] This book, which enumerated all the 'errors' of the Greco-Russian theologians, gave great offence to the Orthodox of Kiev. Smotritzky was summoned there by his immediate superior, the Metropolitan—for officially he still belonged to the Byzantine Church—and was compelled to be present at the anathematisation of his work, which he was forced to burn and trample underfoot. Leaving Kiev immediately after this ceremony, he protested in a new book[2] against the treatment to which he had been subjected by the Russian Orthodox. Then, with no further scruples to restrain him, he openly proclaimed his union with Rome, and spent the rest of his days in the monastery of his choice, where he died on December 23, 1633.

These two great figures, however, should not make us overlook the excellent, though anonymous, work which for two centuries was accomplished by the Basilian monks (so called because they lived according to the rules established by Saint Basil the Great) in supporting the Uniate Church and propagating its doctrine. Their zeal, however, did not carry them so far as to lead them to counsel the authorities of the Church to modify its ritual, in order to bring it into closer conformity with that of Rome. This was rather the work of certain Uniate prelates who were somewhat unduly disposed to assert themselves.

[1] Apologia for journeyings to the lands of the Levant, Lwow, 1628. The *Apologia* was republished by Father Martynov, S.J., at Leipzig in 1863.

[2] This second work, entitled *Rosprava* (Punishment) earned for its author the name of the Polish Cicero.

In 1595 nothing had been done beyond recognition of Papal sovereignty and the 'articles of faith' of the Latins; but in 1720 a great stride forward was taken. The Uniate Council which assembled in that year at Zamoisk prescribed the addition to the Creed of the word *Filioque;* the recognition of certain Catholic festivals, such as Corpus Christi; the modification of priestly vestments; and the revision of books of liturgy in order to adapt them more closely to Roman practice. Let us hasten to add that these 'reforms' were regarded in Rome as regrettable and ill-conceived.[1] In any case, they did not last long, for a few decades later the Uniates were seized with the desire to revert to the celebration of Divine worship according to Byzantine-Slav ritual.

[1] Korolevsky, *l'Uniatisme*, 1927 (*Irenikon Collection*).

CHAPTER V

MONACHISM

I

SINCE the Russians had been converted to Christianity by Byzantium, it followed naturally that monachism came to them from the same source. But at the period when Russia was evangelised monastic life at Byzantium was already in its decadence.[1] 'It was none of our business, however, to restore it and raise it to the heights of the time of Pachomus the Great and Saint Basil,' remarks the Russian historian Goloubinsky. 'All that we could do was to accept it as it was at the period when we were converted to Christianity; and since among us, as among the Greeks, the vow of chastity was subject to no control, but on the contrary was exposed to temptations which made it a dead letter, how could it be expected that our experience should have been different from that of the Greeks? It is true that among us the laity never played such an active part as in Greece in depraving the monks. In Russia the monasteries were not country houses or villas of rich landed proprietors who spent their holidays there, bringing with them the atmosphere of life outside. But among us also, from the earliest times, the monks were demoralised in a different way by continual invitations to feasting and by the organisation in their honour, within the very walls of their monasteries, of sumptuous banquets in which the feminine sex took part.'[2]

[1] See on this subject the letter of Saint Nilus the Elder (died about 430), Basilian of Mount Sinai, to the Archimandrite Nicon. Migne, *Patr. graeca*, LXXIX, col. 437.

[2] *Istoria rousskoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), Bk. I, Part I, pp. 644-645. Cf. John II, Metropolitan of Kiev, *Tzerkovnyia pravila* (Ecclesiastical Rules). Edit. Pavlov, 'Russian Historical Library,' VI, St. Petersburg, 1880.

That such things could happen is explained by the fact that very few Russian monasteries had an internal organisation based upon that of Western monasteries. When the first Russian monasteries were founded an attempt was certainly made to introduce in them the rules of Saint Theodore Studites, but these were applied with but partial success and were not maintained in their entirety for more than a short space of time. The great majority of the Russian monasteries, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, as we shall see later, were communities in which the monks lived in separate rooms, or even separate little houses which were built by themselves and were their own property. They only met for services and meals. The same food was supplied to all, but there was no rule against supplementing it, since the monks were entitled to possess private means and spend them as they wished.

The freedom which reigned in the organisation of the monasteries was equalled by the go-as-you-please atmosphere of life within them. Certain monasteries were mixed, inhabited partly by monks and partly by nuns.[1] The convents of nuns were governed by priors. Others were the sole property of rich and titled persons who treated their monks as little better than serfs.

But it was precisely all these degradations and imperfections in Russian cenobite life at that time which enabled Russian monachism to persist and rescued it at the edge of the abyss. For, wearied and even profoundly shocked by the life of idleness and debauchery which was led in the monasteries where they lived, some religious, desirous of a pure and austere existence, finally abandoned them and went far afield in search of suitable places to create surroundings more in keeping with their state of mind. In this way monasteries and hermitages multiplied all over the great Russian plain, the impenetrable forests

[1] Vassilenko, *Russ. Encyc. Dict.*, Vol. 38, p. 727.

of Muscovy were opened up, villages and towns came into existence, and the paganism of the aboriginal people was driven more and more into the background.

This phenomenon, which is one of the most striking features in the whole history of Russian monachism, is not to be confused with another feature which was the curse of cenobite life in those times in Russia as well as in Western Europe—the vagabondage of monks. Vagrant monks were not suppressed in Russia until the end of the eighteenth century, after draconian laws had been passed to deal with them and a special police entrusted with the enforcement of these laws.[1]

The religious who left their monasteries on lofty grounds of morality and piety had only one object—to establish communities which in their constitution should approximate as closely as possible to their ideal of the cenobite life. They were in general men among the elect, ascetics, reformers, saintly in soul. As a rule for their new lodging they chose uninhabited places: a clearing in the middle of a forest, the solitary bank of a river.[2] Within a short time, thanks to their incessant

[1] Saint Francis of Assisi was in the habit of calling these vagrant monks 'my brothers the gnats.' In the time of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-62) the birch and the fetter still had to be employed to chastise the drunkenness and the rebellious spirit of these monks. The 'priests' fairs,' to which the popes came to hire out their services, were suppressed under penalty of corporal punishment. (Cf. Timofeev, *Istoria telesnykh nakazanyi v russkom prave* (History of Corporal Punishment in Russian Law), St. Petersburg, 1904).

[2] It sometimes happened also that a little community of monks grouped itself around a modest village church. Such cases were to be found especially at the outset of monastic life, when the number of monks was still small, when few among them were consecrated priests, and when there was still plenty of room for everybody and therefore no occasion to withdraw to the solitudes of the North and East. There were, however, districts in Russia where this habit of grouping round an already existing church persisted for several centuries. Goloubinsky unearthed in an old record of the province of Novgorod the following note: 'The church and the priest's house at Imotchenitzyi on the Oiaty were built on land belonging to the Tsar and the Grand Prince. At the priest's house lived the pope Philip, the sub-deacon Romachka Grigoriev, the beadle Mikitka, the panifer Agathus, and there were ten cells inhabited by brother monks' (*op. cit.*, Bk. I, Part II, p. 553).

labour, there rose among the huts which served them as cells a little wooden church which became the rallying-point for other discontented persons and fugitives. In this way, in proportion as the number of monks increased, as new cells were added, and as the church was embellished, the surrounding countryside lost its savage and deserted aspect. Soon there sprang up around the new retreat a hamlet which later became a village and finally a town. This was the modest origin of many cities of Northern Russia, and also of many celebrated monasteries, whose founders were not only men of saintly virtue but also zealous colonisers and courageous pioneers, who—very often at the risk of their lives—bore the good news to half-civilised populations.

It is true that not infrequently the new monasteries, forgetful of the rules imposed upon them by their founders, slid into a life made up of idleness, earthly indulgence, and thoughts of gain. But there was always to be found some pious monk who, fleeing from the community which had fallen into decadence, carried elsewhere the torch which it had formerly held aloft. While, therefore, the life of many Russian monasteries was open to reproach, the cenobite ideal remained alive in Russia and was handed down from century to century.

II

Monastic life was born in the 'country of Kiev.' Its origin was those little communities of hermits of whom I have just spoken, and who are still called to-day *skits*. Clearly none of the communities of this kind had any exact and well-defined rules, nor had they superiors appointed to control them. None of the religious who belonged to them, moreover, was bound by any formulated vows.

If certain contemporary writings are to be believed, real monasteries appeared soon after the conversion to

Christianity of the Grand Prince Vladimir.[1] They were certainly already in existence at the time of Jaroslav the Great, at the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] But they differed little in their manner of life and their structure from the primitive cenobite communities. The real monastery, in the proper sense of the word, did not make its appearance until much later. This was the future abbey of Kiev which was called 'Of the Catacombs' (Kievo-Petcherskaia Lavra).

A certain Hilarion, priest of Berestov, a village near Kiev, found himself in 1051 called to the vocation of a hermit. Accordingly he left his presbytery and betook himself to the steep bank of the Dnieper, where he dug out for his habitation a sort of cave or rather crypt (*pestchera*). He did not stay there long, however, for he was shortly afterwards appointed Metropolitan of Kiev.[3] The abandoned crypt was then occupied by the monk Anthony, who had come from Mount Athos a little time earlier. Anthony was an ascetic full of zeal, humility, and ardent faith. His example proved contagious.

He was shortly joined, therefore, by other pious men, among whom the young Theodosius was distinguished by his ardour. When the number of hermits had reached twelve they built a little church, and constructed cells for themselves. Anthony placed at their head a certain Barlaam,[4] and withdrew himself to another cave a short

[1] So the Metropolitan Hilarion states in his *Discourse on Law and Grace*. The Nordic *sagas* also speak of an Irishman, Horwald, who founded a monastery in Russia at the period of Vladimir's conversion to Christianity.

[2] The *Chronicle of Nestor* (for the year 1051) declares that the Blessed Anthony, who arrived in Kiev in the last years of the reign of Jaroslav, stayed in various monasteries of the city ('hody po monasteriam') before going to live in the cave which was the embryo of the future monastery of Kievo-Petchersk.

[3] See Note A at end of this chapter.

[4] Biographical details about Theodosius and Barlaam may be found in Martynov, *Annus Ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavicus* ('Acta Sanctorum,' Octobris, Bk. XI), 1864. The life of Theodosius has also been narrated by the annalist Nestor (whose biography was translated into modern Russian by the Metropolitan Philaretus, *Zapiski Akademii Naouk*, Part IV, Bk. II, 2, 1856). Goloubinsky, *op. cit.* Mgr Macarius, *Istoria Rousskoi Tserkvi*.

distance from the monastery which he arranged on the model of that which the Northmen warriors of the Prince's bodyguard had dug out in the neighbourhood as a hiding-place for their booty.

The number of the cenobites increased continuously, until finally it was decided to leave the crypts, where accommodation was getting cramped, and to transfer the community into daylight, by the construction of cells and a new church dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which were built above the primitive retreat. The Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav, made the community a present of the ground which it already occupied, together with a wide stretch of the wooded bank of the Dnieper in the neighbourhood. At this time the prior of the new monastery was Theodosius. It was he who first brought into force in Russia the rule of cenobite life laid down by Saint Theodore Studites.[1]

Theodosius was a man of rare piety and asceticism. He spent most of his days and nights in prayer and meditation. But it was especially during Lent that his asceticism manifested itself in all its rigour. As a rule, after bidding farewell to the brethren and giving them his instructions, he withdrew to one of the abandoned crypts, where he had himself walled up, leaving only a

[1] Saint Theodore, surnamed Studites, the celebrated reformer of monastic life, was one of the most interesting personalities of the ninth century in Byzantine history. Zealous, well informed, resolute, and strong-minded, he represented an ascetic doctrine opposed to that of the *hesychasts* and hermits. In his *Little Catechism* (Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. 99, col. 509–688, and also Van de Vorst, *The Little Catechism of Saint Theodore Studites*, 'Analecta Bollandiana,' Vol. 33, 1919) he has some rather harsh things to say about them. Through the agency of the reformed monks to whom he had given a new rule he stirred the religious of the East out of the inactive mysticism in which they had gone to sleep. Theodore was always most respectful to the Pope, and recognised in explicit terms the Apostolic succession of the See of Rome and the supreme authority of the Pope in questions of dogma. In his works Theodore was careful to call the Pope 'Apostolic' and 'the successor of Peter.' On the life and doctrine of Theodore see Schneider, *Der heilige Theodor von Studion* (Münster, 1900); Marin, *Saint Théodore* (Paris, 1906); and also I. Hausherr, *Saint Théodore Studite; l'homme et l'ascète* ('Orientalia Christiana,' Vol. VI, 22).

small peep-hole through which once a week he discussed the affairs of the community. He remained in this crypt or cave throughout the long weeks of Lent, and did not leave it until the eve of the day which commemorated the resurrection of Lazarus.[1]

The example of Theodosius certainly stimulated the zeal of many monks of his entourage and of his time.[2] But the severe rules which he had introduced in the monastery of Petchersk were maintained in all their rigour only for a short time. After his death they were gradually abandoned and replaced by others which, like them, were as a matter of fact never recognised by the Church.[3] Even during the lifetime of the founders of the monastery of the Catacombs at Kiev there were not a few desertions, and a number of monks, after a longer or shorter stay in the monastery, left it for Constantinople or Mount Athos, which already at that time was inhabited exclusively by monks.

The exact date of the foundation of a Russian monastery at Athos is not known to us. Goloubinsky and Bishop Porphyrius (*History of Athos*, Kiev, 1877) incline towards the middle of the twelfth century. It was certainly about that period that some monks of Russian origin were granted authority to rebuild an old monastery which had fallen into ruin, to which was given the name

[1] See Note B at end of this chapter.

[2] Recluse or enclosed monks have always existed in Russia. The ecclesiastical annals speak of a certain *inok*, John 'the bearer of sorrows' (*mnogostradalnyi*), who had himself buried up to his waist and so spent his whole life. Another monk, Isaac, of the monastery of Petchersk, at the outset of Russian monachism, had himself sewn into the skin of a newly killed goat, which he allowed to dry upon his body. Then he withdrew to a narrow crypt and had himself walled in. His only nourishment was Communion bread (*prosfora*), which was handed to him through a loop-hole every two days. He never lay down, and slept crouched in a corner of the cell. After two years of this *régime* he went mad, and it took another two years to cure him, after which he did not return to his crypt. In general the Abbots and Priors of the monasteries were not in favour of such excesses of asceticism, and only rarely gave permission for the practice of reclusion.

[3] Goloubinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

of the saint and martyr Pantaleimon. This was the monastery which the Balkan Slavs called 'Russian.' The Russian monastery of our time, however, is not this 'Russian' monastery. The present Russian monastery on Mount Athos was built in the course of the past century on the site of the former one. It is a handsome building which, in default of upkeep—for its funds are exhausted—threatens to fall into ruin in its turn.[1]

Greece was not the only country which was visited by Russian monks. Palestine also attracted them. It is certain that Jerusalem was early the goal of Russian pilgrimages, and that there existed there in the twelfth century a monastery inhabited exclusively by monks who had come from Russia. Nor was it unusual to find at the threshold of the tomb of our Lord, together with monastics, men of the sword and persons of high rank whose place of origin was Kiev and Novgorod. Whether they were brought there by Alexis Comnenus to fight the infidel, as certain writers affirm,[2] or whether they came merely to accomplish an act of faith, the fact remains that they invariably followed an itinerary which had been already traced by compatriots of theirs who had come earlier to Palestine. Among such was that monk of Tchernigov, the prior Daniel (1106 or 1107), who has left us a description as exact as it is charming and picturesque of all his wanderings in his long journey to the Holy Land.[3]

The history of the monastery of Kievo-Petchersk is well known. After being enriched by a fine cathedral dedicated to the Mother of God—so fine, according to the Annalists, that the Byzantine artists who had decorated

[1] Some interesting details about the monasteries of Mount Athos may be found in John Comninus, *Description of the Holy Mount of Athos* (in Greek), Bucharest, 1701. This work was translated into Russian in 1706 by Damaskinus, of the monastery of Tchoudov.

[2] Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, Paris, 1924, p. 279.

[3] A. Palmieri, *I pellegrinaggi russi in Terrasanta* ('Bessarione,' 1900, Bk. VIII, pp. 571–605).

it refused to leave the monastery, and died and were buried there—the monastery was ravaged by the Mongol hordes of Baty in 1240. It rose from its ashes a century later, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century had become the richest abbey of Southern Russia.

The monastery of the Catacombs played a great part in the propagation of the new faith. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was the nursery of more than a score of Russian prelates, and it had many times occasion to intervene in the quarrels of the princes who frequently disputed for the hegemony of the Russian world, then split into a number of principalities. But the *rôle* which it played as a seat of learning has been considerably exaggerated.[1] For several centuries its clerks and doctors were nothing but more or less conscientious copyists or compilers without genius. For a very long time it was believed that the famous Russian 'Original Chronicle' (*Proviest vremennikh liet*), wrongly attributed to the monk Nestor, was written or compiled at the monastery of Kievo-Petchersk. But we know definitely to-day that this was not the case.

This famous 'Chronicle' was the fruit of the work of several generations of monks belonging to different monasteries, all of whom lived long after Nestor,[2] to whom scarcely anything can be attributed except a *Life of Theodosius* written in Slavonic in 1088 and translated into Russian in 1856. There remains the *Paterik*, the record of the lives of the Fathers of the monastery of the Catacombs.[3] This is certainly one of the most precious documents of Russian hagiography; but it would be daring to compare it, for example, with the *Acta Sanctorum*. In short, the importance of the monastery of Kiev from the intellectual point of view did not make

[1] Goetz, *Der Kievo-Hoblenkloster als Kulturzentrum des Vormongolischen Russlands*, Passau, 1904.

[2] Chakhmatof, *Skazanie o prizvanii Variagov* (The Story of the Summons of the Varangians), St. Petersburg, 1904.

[3] See Note C at end of this chapter.

itself felt until the end of the sixteenth century, when the abbey was enriched by a well-stocked library and a printing press and began to publish prayer-books and works of theology and polemics. It was at this same period that, thanks to the energy of the eminent prelate who was then ruling the diocese of Kiev, the Metropolitan Peter Mogila, the monastery of the Catacombs was endowed with a school which later became the celebrated Academy of Kiev.

III

It was therefore between the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the first monasteries in Russia were founded, mostly in the towns and their immediate neighbourhood, since the countryside, especially in the south, was still overrun by pillaging bands of nomad warriors. After Kiev, Pereyiaslav, Tchernigov and Vladimir in Volhynia successively were endowed with monasteries on the Greek model—that is to say subject to the authority of a superior and possessing a rule of monastic life. Then it was the turn of Novgorod, where the cenobite life developed so rapidly that by the end of the twelfth century there were already a score of monasteries. Not all of these, certainly, reached the highest levels of the requirements of monastic life ; but they all had in their time a reason for existence and a part to play.

It was especially in the North and in the East, however, that the first monasteries to be established played a civilising and even political *rôle*. Among these was the rich abbey of the Trinity of Saint Sergius, which was founded at the gates of Moscow at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Saint Sergius of Radonje.[1] At the period of its foundation all the surrounding country

[1] Goloubinsky, *Prepodibnyi Serguei Radonejskyi* (1892). Einhorn, *O znatchenii prep. Sergia v rousskoi istorii* (The Importance of Saint Sergius in Russian History), Moscow, 1899. Boris Zaizef, *Prepodibnyi Serguei Radonejskyi* (1927). Boulgakof, *Sviatoi Serguei Radonejskyi* (The Review *Pout*, No. 5, 1926).

was very sparsely peopled and covered with impenetrable forests. But Sergius was not only a great saint; he was also a remarkable administrator and an accomplished politician. A score of years sufficed for him to turn a semi-desert tract into a cultivated territory, and he needed no longer to make his monastery an active centre of Muscovite power.

When the Grand Prince of Moscow, Dimitri, surnamed Donskoi, after his victory over the Tartars at the battle of Koulikovo, began to think of measuring himself with the Mongols, he went to consult Saint Sergius, and it was Sergius who was largely responsible for equipping him for his struggle against the invaders. He sent to accompany the Prince two of his soldier-monks, Ossliabia and Peresviet. Cross in one hand and sword in the other, clad in coat of mail, but with the vizors of their helmets open, they put themselves at the head of the Muscovite troops and led them to victory.

A century after the death of Saint Sergius the monastery which he had founded, loaded with gifts and privileges and possessing a large number of peasant-serfs, had become, under the direction of energetic and enterprising priors, a regular citadel which in troublous times maintained the national idea and before which Polish military power was broken. Later still Peter the First, fleeing from those whom he suspected of planning his assassination, found refuge within the high walls of the powerful monastery, which aided him with funds in his first campaigns. Nor was this the first time when the rich abbey had placed its treasure at the disposal of sovereigns short of money.

A *rôle* no less important from the point of view of civilising influence and political and military power was played by the famous monastery of the island of Solovetsk. The two pious hermits, Zozima and Savvatyi, who founded it in 1429, could certainly not have foreseen the destiny which was reserved for their foundation.

They had fled from places inhabited by men 'in order to be nearer to the Lord'—in other words, to steep themselves in solitude and silence propitious for prayer and meditation. From this point of view they could look for nothing better than this cold and deserted island lost in the midst of a northern sea.

But for this very reason the retreat which they established at the extreme limit of Russian territory was destined to become an advanced post of Muscovite power and at the same time an important centre of colonisation.[1] Having obtained from Novgorod, to which this remote territory belonged, a charter giving them rights of ownership of all the surrounding country, the monks of Solovetsk proceed to people and develop their new domain by creating fisheries and farms, making roads, and establishing communication by river and sea between the monastery and the fishing villages and trappers. They introduced a breed of cows extremely rich in milk, and did their utmost to encourage hunting for fur-bearing animals. In short, they began their career as great pioneers, colonisers, and administrators.[2]

[1] All this in a region which for four months of the year is plunged into complete darkness, and where for six months the frost is intense enough to split the rocks. What a regular nightmare life in these latitudes must have been is conveyed to us by this brief passage from a description of the monastery of Solovetsk written at the beginning of the seventeenth century by Damaskinus, deacon of the monastery of Tchoudov at Moscow: 'The monastery of Solovetsk,' writes the pious monk, 'is situated in a country which evokes all the horrors of Tartarus. The winter nights there are long, mournful, and cold. The short summer does not suffice to thaw a man out, and moreover at that season of the year he is assailed by a swarm of mosquitoes, wasps, and gnats. The island of Solovetsk is inhabited by a very large number of birds which are called sea-mews. They are insufferable creatures which cry in a shrill voice all day long and often even at night. Thanks to this overwhelming chorus the monks are deprived of any opportunity for tranquillity and reflection. Moreover, the frolicking and love-making of these birds troubles the spirits of men and distracts them in an annoying fashion.' (Hierodiakon Damaskinus, *Sravnenie sviatoi afonskoi gory s Solovetskim monastyrem*, 'Pamiatniki Drevnei Pismennosti,' Bk. 43, Saint-Peters., 1883.)

[2] Klioutchevskyi, *Khoziaistvennaia deiatelnosi Solovetzkago monastyria* (The Economic Activities of the Monastery of Solovetsk). Cf. *Opyty i izsledovania* (Studies and Researches), Moscow, 1912.

In 1571, however, an unlucky attempt by the Swedes turned them into soldiers. At this period the monastery and its dependencies were already surrounded by a high wall, which it had taken twelve years to build out of blocks of granite and mill-stones. Moscow had furnished a garrison which was distributed over the lands of the monastery, which was responsible for its maintenance. But the monks finally decided to do without it, and replaced it by a force composed of the youngest and most robust of their members. Their military value was soon put to the test and proved itself to be very high; for they held outside the walls of the monastery for seven years the troops which the Tsar of Moscow dispatched in 1667 to overcome the monks' obstinate resistance to the ecclesiastical reforms proclaimed by the celebrated Patriarch Nikon.

The decadence of monasteries such as those of Solovetsk or the White Lake (Belozersk)—the latter was founded in 1397 by the Blessed Cyril, abbot of the Somonov monastery at Moscow, and after the death of its founder also became an important military post on the north-west marches—kept pace closely with the decline of their military and colonising *rôle*. Built by pious hermits to be places of prayer and meditation, transformed by the caprice of history or the will of men into powerful instruments of domination and propaganda, they were bound inevitably to decay sooner or later, for their *rôles* were equivocal from the outset.

Their magnificent shrines—such as those of Solovetsk in massive silver—which contained the remains of their founders, continued to attract every year scores of thousands of pilgrims from every corner of vast Russia. But the existence in the heart of the monasteries of these visible reminders of a distant and exalting past did not always inspire zeal in the new generations of monks, who found in them merely a source of profit. And so the monasteries, often bursting with material riches, enjoying

all sorts of privileges, and mostly exempt from any strict and severe rules governing their internal life, became increasingly the resort either of adventurers, fugitives from the justice of their own territories, or of the merely idle.

IV

Things went from bad to worse, and the ecclesiastical and even the lay authorities became seriously disturbed. The Tsars, the Metropolitans, and the Bishops, of whom certain great monasteries were either possessions or dependencies, sent them repeatedly energetic admonitions (such as those of Ivan the Terrible to the monks of Cyrillo-Belozersk), bidding them follow the rules laid down for their guidance and adjuring them not to exhibit their vices before the people. But all these admonitions had no effect.

Accordingly various councils (*sobors*) of Bishops adopted a series of stern measures intended to arrest the decadence of monachism. The *sobors* of 1667 and 1681, for example, prohibited the foundation of new monasteries (there were at this period more than two thousand) and decreed the closing of those which had only a small number of monks. Seeking to stem the ever mounting tide of people who assumed the habit for purely material reasons or to escape the justice of their own territories, the Bishops further decided that only assumption of the habit within a monastery itself, after a novitiate whose length was strictly defined, should be regarded as valid. (Before this it was possible to assume the habit outside of a monastery, and it frequently happened that this ceremony was conducted by a pseudo-monk or a sheer impostor.) They also prohibited the enforced assumption of the habit by married persons without the consent of both parties.

In short, the high Muscovite clergy of the end of the seventeenth century did much to raise the level of national monachism. If their success in this task was

only partial the reason was that they lacked the necessary independence and authority—two things which were not lacking in the great reformer of Russia, Peter the Great.

Under the influence of his evil genius, Theophanes Prokopovitch, a man of Lutheran sympathies (of whom I shall have more to say in the next chapter), Peter was in principle hostile to monachism. In certain aspects Peter was really an anti-clerical and a warm partisan of 'lay morality.' He had forgotten the services which the religious had rendered him in his youth in saving him from certain death and assisting the realisation of his military plans.

His famous 'Ecclesiastical Law' reflects Peter's opinion of the monks: 'Profiters by the labour of others, propagators of heresy and superstition.' It prohibited the foundation of new monasteries without the authority of the Emperor, and contemplated the utmost possible measure of fusion among those which existed and the transformation of their churches into independent parishes. The Synod was further invited by the Tsar to combat the ideas of those Russians who believed that to become a monk was an easy way to Heaven. In 1723 a census was taken of all religious. The Emperor issued an ukase which absolutely prohibited the assumption of the monk's habit. It was decreed that the vacant places in the monasteries should be reserved for war wounded and the sick and needy.

This edict, which would have meant the death-knell of Russian monachism, was repealed a few years later. But it remained understood that only persons well known to the Government could be appointed to direct the monasteries, and they were compelled to swear that they would not admit into them 'bigoted recluses and other propagators of superstition.' It was forbidden to the monks to possess ink or pen, or to write anything whatever without the authority of their superior.[1] The religious

[1] *Oukazy Petra Velikago* (The Ukases of Peter the Great). Ed. of 1739, year 1723, p. 28.

were not allowed to leave their monastery more than four times a year, and were only permitted to receive a visitor in the presence of a third person and with the authority of their superior.

All these draconian laws, as well as those which dealt with the internal life of monasteries, the occupations of religious, and their preparation for the priesthood, were largely due to the opposition which the bold reforms of Peter the Great had encountered in monastic circles. The severity of the laws promulgated by Peter was sensibly diminished by the Empress Elizabeth. In 1760 authority to assume the monastic habit was restored to all classes of the population. At the beginning of the reign of Catherine the Great there existed in Russia 1072 monasteries. In 1764 the promulgation of the 'Ecclesiastical Lists' considerably reduced their number.[1]

The buildings of the monasteries which were dissolved or suppressed were turned into barracks, hospitals, and schools. To encourage religious who took up different studies they were granted pensions in addition to the salaries which they received as professors or schoolmasters. Finally, in the same spirit, the Empress abolished the ukase of Peter I which prohibited monks who lived

[1] The main object of this promulgation was to deprive the monasteries of their landed property (*votchiny*) in exchange for a not very generous fixed income. This was applied to all the monasteries with the exception of the two abbeys (Kievo-Petchersk and the Trinity of Saint Sergius) and those of the monasteries which were called 'cathedral monasteries,' because they were designated as the residences of Archbishops and Metropolitans. These retained their property as in the past. The remaining monasteries were divided into three classes, and the number of religious who might occupy them was severely restricted. Monasteries of the first class were entitled to have 33 monks or from 52 to 101 nuns; those of the second class 17 monks or as many nuns; while those of the third class were entitled only to 12 monks or the same number of nuns. In 1764 there were in all 318 monasteries and 67 convents. In the nineteenth century the number of so-called 'listed monasteries' (*chtatnya*), that is to say those for whose maintenance the State was responsible, decreased considerably. On the other hand, the number of monasteries living on their own resources increased considerably, with a corresponding improvement in their general conduct and in the spirit which animated them.

in monasteries where the communal rule was applied from possessing or bequeathing personal property. During the reign of Alexander I, who had much sympathy with the monks, their position was materially bettered. In the course of the nineteenth century the number of religious houses increased slightly, thanks mainly to the creation of a certain number of ' feminine communities ' (*genskia obchtiny*), which differed from ordinary convents only in that their occupants were not required to take vows.

The monasteries which had survived in Russia down to this later period had mostly become houses obeying a rule of life in common (*obchtejiterlnia*). They were governed either by priors (*igoumeni*) or by abbots (*archimandrity*), who in general were elected by the chapter of the monastery. The abbots of the great abbeys (*Lavry*), as well as of some old ' stavropigial monasteries,' had certain privileges which put them on the same footing as Bishops. (They had the right, for example, to wear the mitre and to bless the faithful during Mass with the ' *trikirion* ' and the ' *dikirion* '—that is to say while holding in one hand a three-branched candlestick and in the other a two-branched candlestick, symbolising respectively the Most Holy Trinity and the two natures of our Lord Jesus Christ.)

In most of the monasteries of our time the clergy were composed exclusively of monk-priests (*hieromonakhi*) and monk-deacons (*hierodiakony*), who formed part of the same community.

V

' Neither in the originality of their character nor of their work, still less by their influence upon history and civilisation, can the Russian saints equal the saints of the Latin Church, or of any single Catholic nation, such as Italy, France, or Spain,' wrote A. Leroy-Beaulieu in his great work on *The Empire of the Tsars* (Bk. III, p. 140).

'One searches in vain for figures whom one can set opposite to a Gregory VII or a Saint Bernard, a Thomas Aquinas, a Francis of Assisi, or a Vincent de Paul.' It is easy to say so; but it was not mainly on this account that Russian monachism differed from that of Western Europe.

It would not be very difficult to show that the Russia of former times had not only its 'warrior monks and men of action,'[1] but also monks who exercised a real influence upon the history of their country and its civilisation. Saint Cyril of Tourov, an eminent scholar, was a light in the Middle Ages of Russia.[2] Saint Sergius of Radojene contributed powerfully to the foundation of the Muscovite '*Tsarstvo*.' Joseph Volotskoi (Volokolamsky) defined in the sixteenth century in writings of high literary quality the very essence of the authority of the 'Tsar autocrat,'[3] and throughout his life combated with his pen and in action the divisions which were coming to birth within the Russian Church. Abraham Palitzine was one of the champions of national *renaissance* after troublous years. Finally Nilus Sorsky and his companions of the monasteries of 'beyond the Volga,' despite the fact that they were pure contemplatives, did not disdain to enter the lists and, in the *sobor* of the Bishops of 1490, to combat the right of a monastery to possess land and serfs.[4] I cite no further names in order not to overburden the list.

No, the fact is that what has always given an impression

[1] A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des Tsars*, p. 225.

[2] See Note D at end of this chapter.

[3] The definition is as follows: 'By his nature the Tsar resembles other men, but by his power he resembles God. He is the Vicar of God on this earth, the supreme head of the State and of the Church.'

[4] The Cenobites who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were called 'the old men of beyond the Volga' (*zavolgskaia Startsy*), lived in poor monasteries scattered about the wooded provinces of Northern Russia, far from the great monasteries and the rich abbeys. They were partisans of strict moral discipline rather than of rules of abstinence and physical asceticism. Their influence over the people was always great and wholesome.

of a static condition in Russian monachism is that this active—one might almost say 'lay'—side of certain great Russian monks has never been adequately disentangled from the rubbish-heaps of history. It has not been thrown into sufficiently high relief for the reason that the real sources of the history of Russia have not been properly studied, especially abroad. Moreover, if the Russian religious lived, worked, and acted in a vacuum, so to speak; if their doings and their movements had no echo in the rest of Europe and no influence upon the evolution of Christianity in the Western world, as was the case with the great figures of Catholic monachism, the circumstance is explained by the fact that after the thirteenth century their country had no further direct contact with the West.

On the other hand, if the Russian people produced especially pious recluses and anchorites, this was not only because they admired their way of life, but also because these particular Cenobites struck a responsive chord in them and became their spiritual masters, or *Startsy*.[1]

It is not to be denied that they drew the people to some extent outside the Church. But one cannot reproach them too much with that, in view of the fact that their teaching was of high moral value. One may rather deplore the fact that their number was not greater; for, if the *Startsy* accustomed the Russian people to contemplate the sky above the multi-coloured cupolas of the beautiful Orthodox cathedrals, they exerted themselves also to inculcate in them horror of evil, indulgence for the sins

[1] The origin of the word *Starets* (plural *Startsy*), which means 'elder,' goes back to the period of the earliest institutions of the Eastern Slavs. The great Russian historian Klioutchevsky has shown that this name, or rather its primitive form of *Stareichiny* (plural), was applied to the military chiefs of the Russo-Slav cities. Later the term was employed to designate the important persons who controlled discussion at assemblies of citizens. Finally, in the course of centuries it gave birth to the word *Starchina*, still very widely used in Russia to designate either the head of a military detachment (among the Cossacks), or the headman of a village, or merely any personage of importance.

of others, and the necessity of keeping their tempers—in other words, they taught them humility, pity, and self-control. That is the essence of the Franciscan doctrine. The 'Poverello,' so the *Legend of the Three Companions* (trans. Pichard, Paris, 1926) informs us, 'bade his brethren judge no one.' He also bade them: 'Let your gentleness draw all men towards peace, good-will and harmony.'

The *rôle* of the *Startsy* was the more meritorious in view of the fact that many among them were men by nature extremely violent and easily carried away. They had to strive hard with themselves to attain that 'complete absence of nerves' (Rozanov, *l'Eglise Russe*), that state which enabled them to content themselves with answering all reproaches by a mild 'admonition, almost wordless, addressed as if in passing to themselves.'[1]

It was, therefore, not in the absence from its ranks of outstanding personalities that Russian monachism differed from that of Western Europe; nor was it this that prevented it from shining with a clear light. Its defect was rather the absence of a monastic mass. This explains why one 'searches in vain' for any monuments of collective intellectual labour comparable with the 'Acts' of the Benedictines, the work of the Bollandists, or the 'Annals' of the brethren of preaching orders. The fault belongs to the prelates and high dignitaries of the earlier Russian Church, who had no talent for making use of men of the elect, of those who could speak with authority. It belongs still more to the civil authorities,

[1] It is related that one day the celebrated teaching monk, Tikhon Zadonsky, who belonged almost to our own time, since he lived at the end of the eighteenth century, had a violent discussion with a layman who called himself a 'free thinker.' The latter, having exhausted his arguments, suddenly boxed the ears of the holy man. And what did Tikhon do? He threw himself at the feet of this rude person and humbly begged his pardon because his answers had driven him to lose all control of himself. Yet Tikhon was a combative man, who, at the period when he ruled the diocese of Voronej, had revealed not only a wide and deep learning, but also the true qualities of a leader.

who for a very long time opposed the extension in the country of any widespread knowledge or any free flow of thought.[1] It belongs, finally, to the Russian people themselves, who, despite their great qualities, often seem incapable of voluntarily adapting themselves to discipline, to methodical and continuous work, and adjusting themselves to the conditions of Space and Time.

Notes

A. Some time before he was consecrated Metropolitan Hilarion had already become known as a great theologian and as author of a long homily of a highly dogmatic character entitled : *Discourse on the Law Transmitted by Moses and on the Grace and the Truth Revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ.* Some passages of this *Discourse* were cited by Karamzine in his *History of Russia* (Istoria Gosou-

[1] One of the causes, if not the original cause, of the intellectual inferiority of Russian monachism and its alienation from Western Christianity consists in its ignorance of Latin at a time when that language was the bond of union among civilised peoples and the medium of learning and of thought. During the early Middle Ages it had to content itself with the knowledge of Greek—which for that matter was until the middle of the third century the language of the Roman Church—and that is why in the Russia of the eleventh to the twelfth centuries we may see Russian prelates such as Cyril of Tourov or Clement, the Metropolitan of Kiev, taking part in oratorical jousts or in written polemics with a liberal supply of Greek texts at their disposal in dealing with questions of Biblical exegesis or speculative science disputed between partisans of the philosophical school of Alexandria and its rival of Antioch.

But in the course of time, as Byzantium died of inanition and old age, and Russia became increasingly disinterested in the West, Slavonic acquired a greater importance, and soon supplanted the learned civilised tongue of the Greeks. But obviously Slavonic could not replace Greek and suffice as a medium for thought and learning. Accordingly the exclusive use of Cyrillic writing (*kirilliza*), which was totally unknown to the civilised world of that time, only contributed towards the isolation and stagnation of Russia.

Of course some books of liturgy and philosophy were translated from the Greek, as later an attempt was made to translate others from the Latin ; but in general these translations were incomplete and inadequate. Moreover, Slavonic did not lend itself to subtleties of thought and to learned terminology. Finally the authors decided to employ the popular language, while preserving certain Slavonic expressions here and there. In our time Slavonic is only used in Russia in religious services.

darstva Rossyiskago), Bk. I, note 284. In 1844 Professor Gorsky published the entire *Discourse*, transcribed from a fourteenth-century MS., in his *Supplements to the Works of the Fathers of the Church* (Pribavlenia k tvoreniam Sviatykh otzov), Bk. II, pp. 204–299. Finally in 1848 Outrdolsky published a new version from a MS. of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. See also Sokolof, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona* (Hilarion's Discourse on Law and Grace) in *Isvestia Akademia Naouk*, 1917, Vol. XXVII, Part II.

Although for his learning and the form of his writing Hilarion was indebted to Byzantium, in his mould of mind and in the fervour and a certain ingeniousness which he put into anything he wrote, Hilarion strikes us as very Russian. His *Discourse on Law and Grace* was a brilliant panegyric of Christianity and a demonstration of the superiority of Divine grace, as revealed to us by Christ, over the law given to men through the medium of Moses. He proceeded in it to draw a parallel between pagan Russia and Christian Russia, from which he deduced that the knowledge of the religion of Christ was an immense benefit for his country. He concluded his *Discourse* with a 'hymn of praise' to the memory of Prince Vladimir, the founder of Christianity in Russia. The position which Hilarion here adopted *vis-à-vis* Judaism was explained by the great influence which Judaism exerted upon the Russian masses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Church was accordingly obliged to combat it energetically, as it did Catholicism in the thirteenth century.

After he became Metropolitan of Kiev, Hilarion was more assiduous than ever in his devotion to theological labours. In addition to the discourse entitled *Profession of Faith* (Ispovedanie very) pronounced by Hilarion on his elevation to the highest ecclesiastical charge in his country, two epistles date from this period: *Instruction to all Christians on the Benefits of the Soul* (Poouthenie o

polze douchevnoi ko vsem khristianam), of a less dogmatic character than his earlier writings; and *Discourse to a Cloistered Brother* (Slovo k bratoustalbnikou). (This latter work was discovered by Professor Petrovsky in a Serbian version of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries and published in the *Bulletin* of the University of Khazan, 1865, Bk. I, pp. 47–48.)

It is probable that the literary work of the Metropolitan Hilarion was not limited only to these writings. The mastery with which he handled the Russian language, the skill with which he developed his ideas, and his vast erudition all lead us to suppose that only the vicissitudes of time have deprived us of other works of this eminent prelate. Hilarion died in 1054.

B. Despite his devotion to pure asceticism, Theodosius did not abandon his theological studies and his literary work. Among his writings there have been handed down to us five homilies, or rather 'instructions,' addressed to the monks of the monastery of the Catacombs; a letter addressed to the cellarer of the same monastery; five fragments of instructions addressed to the laity as well as the monks; two epistles to the people on 'the punishments of God' (*O kazniakh Bojiikh*); two missives addressed to the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav (one on 'Christian religion and the Latins' and the other 'concerning the slaughter of beasts on Sunday and fasting on Wednesday and Friday'); and finally two prayers, the first composed 'for the health of all Christians,' and the second written at the request of a Scandinavian prince (this latter prayer is known under the name of 'prayer of absolution').

The 'instructions' to the monks of the monastery of Kievo-Petchersk are interesting as revealing in its true aspect the cenobite life in the Russia of the eleventh century. In one of his 'instructions' Theodosius compares monks with warriors. He writes: 'When over a sleeping host sounds the warlike summons of the trumpets

no man-at-arms thinks of going on sleeping. Is it any more worthy for the soldiers of Christ to succumb to sloth? Warriors forget their wives and their children and sacrifice their possessions for an earthly glory, a fleeting glory. . . . They are ready even to lay down their lives to preserve their honour. . . . And yet they are mortal, and their glory will go to the grave with them. Such is not our lot: if we succeed in overcoming the enemies within us we shall achieve a life and a glory that are eternal.' Speaking of the 'infamous sin of drunkenness,' Theodosius writes: 'He who is possessed of a devil suffers involuntarily and may obtain eternal life. But the drunkard suffers willingly, and therefore he will be condemned to everlasting punishment. The man possessed can summon a priest, who may pray for him and deliver him from the Evil One. But all the priests in the world together will not avail to expel from the body of a drunkard the devil of deliberate drunkenness.'

The two missives of Theodosius to the Grand Prince Iziaslav deal with what were at that period burning questions: fasting on Wednesday and Friday, and 'the religion of the Latins.' The first question Theodosius regulated in accordance with the prescriptions of Theodore Studites. In connection with the second, he enumerated the 'divergences' of the Latins from the true Orthodox doctrine, and declared that it was not meet to eat and drink in their company or contract marriages with them.

The writings of Theodosius have a high historical value, for they illustrate exactly the customs and mentality ruling in Russian society in the eleventh century. It is barely a century since his works were discovered. Quite recently it has been questioned whether all those attributed to him (among others the epistle on 'the punishments of God') are really his; but up to the present time nobody has succeeded in clearing up the doubt.

C. The main documents of this *Paterik* are two 'messages' dating from the thirteenth century, addressed

respectively: one by the former monk Simon, now Bishop of Vladimir and Souzdal, to his friend the monk Polycarp; the other by this monk Polycarp to the abbot of the monastery of Kievo-Petchersk. Simon's object in sending his message to Polycarp was to relate to him the lives of the first Fathers of the abbey of the Catacombs, and by so doing to fortify his faith and his humility. The latter part of Simon's letter was devoted to the history of the foundation and construction of the monastery. The message of Polycarp was devoted to the same subject. He also related the lives of the first Fathers of the monastery, in accordance with what he had been told through the mouth of his 'master,' Bishop Simon.

Later, various legends about the foundation of the monastery and other stories of the lives of its founders were added to these documents. Later again other documents bearing more or less upon the monastery and the life of its monks were further added. In certain later versions of the *Paterik* the reply of Theodosius to the Grand Prince Iziaslav regarding the Latins, a short history of the beginning of the Russian Church, a legend about the baptism of the Russians and other similar material are included.

The first complete manuscript of the *Paterik of Kievo-Petchersk* belongs to the fifteenth century. The first edition which was printed (in Polish) by Bishop Sylvester is dated 1635. The Slavonic version was printed in Kiev in 1661. It was carefully revised and purged of 'all that had crept in contrary to the true Orthodox faith' in Moscow in 1759. Finally, in 1870, we have an excellent translation of the *Paterik* into modern Russian from the pen of Mme. M. Victorof. This appears to embrace all the investigations into this interesting monument of mediæval Russian literature.

(Cf. A. Koubaref, *Izsledovania o Petcherskon Pateriki* (Study of the Paterik of Petchersk), 'Tchenia Ob. Istorii i Drevnostei,' 1847, No. 9, and

1857, No. 3. Georgievskij, *Petchainyi petcherskij Paterik* (The printed copy of the Paterik of Petchersk), 'Rousskoie Obozrenie,' 1893, Bks. 5 and 6. A. Chakmatof, *Kievo-Petcherskij Paterik i petcherskaia lictopis* (The Paterik of Kievo-Petchersk and the Chronicle of Petchersk), 'Izvestia Akademii Naouk,' 1897, Bk. III.)

D. Cyril was born in 1130 in the diocese of Tourov which he was later to control. He took orders very young, and proceeded to devote himself enthusiastically to theological and philosophical studies. At one period he abandoned the community to which he belonged and transported his well-stocked library to an isolated tower, where for some years he lived a life of asceticism and study. To this period of his life belong his first writings, such as the treatise *The Glorious Proof of the Cenobite Life* (Podvig inotcheskago jitia) and the *Epistle to the Prior of Petchersk Vassili* (Poslanie k petcherskomou igoumenou Vassiliou). But finally he had to abandon his retreat, since a time came when the Prince and the notables of Tourov begged him to accept the Episcopal throne of that city.

Cyril's activities as Bishop of Tourov are very little known to us. All we do know is that in the struggle of Prince Andrew Bogolioubsky with Bishop Theodore he took the side of the Prince and anathematised the Bishop. It is almost entirely as theologian, ecclesiastical writer and preacher that Cyril has come down to posterity. In this respect we are well enough documented about him, since he has left indisputably eight fine sermons, two long homilies, and a dozen prayers, of which the most noteworthy is the one called 'prayer for the whole week' (*molitva na vsu sedmitzou*).

Although they are strongly impregnated with Byzantine influence, the writings of Cyril are no mere imitations. Cyril was not an original thinker—he had studied the philosophy of Plato and the metaphysics of Aristotle—but neither was he a common compiler. At the same time if he has been called 'the Russian Chrysostom,' that is due to his oratorical talent, not to the content of his sermons, however impeccable may be their form and

style, and however much real originality they may exhibit from this point of view. Cyril is chiefly interesting by reason of the richness and the decorative quality, the majestic lines, of his language—which, it is true, may be charged with grandiloquence. Here is a passage from his sermon for Saint Thomas's Day:

'The spring appears in all its beauty, reviving the world of Nature. The wind blows softly, increasing the sweetness of the fruits of the earth, nurturing the seed, making the green grass grow. The spring, my brethren, is the beautiful faith (*khristoia*) of our Lord, who, through baptism, has given human nature a re-birth. The wind is our former state of sin, which, transformed thanks to our humility into virtuous feelings, bear fruits meet for the soul. The seed is the word of God. It penetrates us, as into the moist earth; and there, aided by the fear of God, it brings to light the flowers of deliverance.'

Speaking to his flock one Palm Sunday, Cyril expressed himself as follows:

'To-day our Lord, having left Bethany, makes his entrance into Jerusalem, seated on the back of an ass, that the prophecy of Zacharias may be fulfilled. . . . The back of the ass is the beliefs of the pagans whom the Apostles sent by Christ have delivered from the snares of the Devil. . . . The Apostles covered the back of the ass with their garments, on which Christ was seated. We are here in the presence of a mystery of high significance. The garments are the Christian virtues of the Apostles, who have made men blessed in the bosom of God and the habitation of the Holy Ghost. To-day the people, spreading their vesture before the Lord, strew flowering branches at his feet. It is a straight and shining pathway that Christ has shown to all the elect of this world. They, finding this way again by their piety and their love of justice, enter easily into the Kingdom

of Heaven. But those who break branches off the trees are simple folk who, making their way thus plain, reach God by prayer and fasting, by the humility of their souls and the tears of their hearts.'

And Cyril ended his sermon by crying:

'Let us pass from words to hymns; let us cover the Holy Church of God with flowers, let us bear the Divine Word far, and let us exalt Christ, our Saviour.'

It is obvious, in short, that what especially distinguishes the sermons of Cyril is their symbolical form, their fondness for comparisons and their striving after allegory even in the episodes of the Gospels, in which he saw only figures of rhetoric. Cyril was a true child of his age; powerfully influenced by the Byzantine grammarians as he was, he did not disdain to strike a dramatic attitude, to borrow images from Nature, and to push the dialogue or the narrative form even to the point of making inanimate objects speak among themselves. In this sense this Russian writer of the twelfth century, to whose influence perhaps was due the sacred poetry which at one time flourished in Russia, was undoubtedly the forerunner of those preachers of the scholastic school of Kiev who were to develop several centuries later.

(The writings of Cyril of Tourov were published by Soukhomlinof in *The Manuscripts of Count Ouvarof* (Vol. III, Bk. I), St. Petersburg, 1862; by Kalaidovitch, *Pamiatniki rousskoi slovestnosti* (Monuments of Russian Literature of the Twelfth Century), Moscow, 1821. They were translated into modern Russian by Bishop Eugene, Kiev, 1881. See also Ponomaref, *Pamiatniki drevne-rousskoi outchitelskoi literatoury* (Monuments of Old Russian Oratorical Literature); Mgr Macarius, *Istoria rousskoi Tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church), Vols. I and III; Goloubinsky, *Istoria rousskoi Tserkvi*, Moscow, 1901–04.)

CHAPTER VI

MOSCOW—'THIRD ROME'

THE defeat which the Tartar troops suffered on the banks of the River Ugra in the autumn of 1480 and the assassination of Ahmed, the last Khan of the Golden Horde, definitely freed Russia from the Mongol yoke and cleared the road which led to Constantinople. But times had very much changed. Byzantium had ceased to exist. On the other hand, under the vigorous impulse given by the Grand Princes of Moscow, there had developed in the midst of the immense Russian plain a great autonomous State which only lacked a coping-stone.

It was quickly realised by the Muscovite sovereigns that the essential condition of political autocracy was to withdraw their subjects from any foreign religious control. In any case the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Patriarch of Constantinople had already long ceased—since the second half of the fifteenth century—to be anything more than nominal. The deadly blow which the Council of Florence dealt the authority of the Church of the East; the decline in the eyes of the Russians of its prestige as the traditional guardian of the true faith; and finally the fall of Byzantium, which was interpreted in Moscow as a sign of divine wrath—all this was bound to precipitate the moment of the official proclamation of the complete independence of the Russian Church.

Accordingly in 1589 the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, who was passing through Moscow, was asked to

consecrate the Metropolitan of that city, Job, as first Patriarch of all Russia. So, at least in its first form, was achieved the creation of the national Church and of Russian autocracy, of which Ivan IV the Terrible had laid the foundation-stone forty-two years earlier, when he had himself crowned Tsar (Cæsar) by the Metropolitan of Moscow. But two things were lacking to complete the stability and the impressiveness of the new edifice—a patent of nobility and a *mythos*. Steps were taken to make good these deficiencies.

Having abandoned Rome for Constantinople for reasons largely political, the Emperors believed that they had carried with them not only the symbol of the Holy Roman Empire, but also the privileges, the rights, and the mystical idea which attached to it. In all sincerity they imagined that they were the direct heirs of the Cæsars, and it was in accordance with this belief that they claimed for the new capital the primacy divinely attached to the seat of Saint Peter. Byzantium in their eyes was 'New Rome,' the centre of the religious life of the world. Accordingly they regarded Charlemagne as a thief and a usurper, and they refused consistently to recognise the right of any Otto or Hohenstaufen to the Imperial crown.

But in fact all these pretensions had no solid foundation. Even if it could be claimed that Constantine IX descended in direct line from the Emperor Augustus, the Empire of the East, certainly from Comnenus onwards, had in its interior structure, its culture, its ethnical composition, and the spirit which animated it nothing in common with the Roman Empire properly so-called. For that reason—and this is also the opinion of Bury (*History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I, London, 1923)—it is entirely wrong to give it the title of 'Roman Empire of the East,' or even that of 'the Later Empire,' except as a term of historical definition.

The Russians, however, who had received from

Byzantium their religious instruction and their theory of power by divine right, believed firmly in the existence of this 'Second Rome,' and regarded its Emperor as their spiritual head and as the guardian of the pure tradition of the Apostolic Church. But now this head and his power had crashed to the ground; and Byzantium, that pure chalice which held the living water of the true faith, had fallen into the hands of the infidel.

Was this, however, a matter to be taken too tragically? By no means, since the fall of Byzantium did not at all imply the definite destruction of the Orthodox Empire, for the simple reason that such an Empire could never disappear. Because the vessel was broken it did not follow that its contents had evaporated. The Lord had suffered the infidels to triumph over the Greeks, but He would never suffer the true faith to be abolished or subjected to the Latins or the Ishmaelites. The true faith was eternal. It could only disappear on the day when everything was consumed.

But, inasmuch as for the time being the world continued to exist, it was necessary to replace the broken vessel by a new vessel, to the end that the living water of the faith which it contained should henceforth be saved from any danger of pollution. This new vessel should be Moscow, 'the Third Rome.' Such was the bold and novel idea which, in the course of the sixteenth century, was developed in letters to various highly placed persons by a pious monk of the monastery of Eleazar at Pskov, by name Philotheus.[1]

It is certain that the development of this doctrine would never have found much echo in Moscow if the ground had not long undergone a marvellous preparation by various events. These were the extension of the national territory, thanks to the conquest of the Tartar kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan; the confirmation by

[1] Malinine, *Staretz Eleazarova manastyria, Feofil i ego poslania* (The Elder of the Monastery of Eleazar, Philotheus and his Letters), Kiev, 1891.

the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople of the pompous titles which Ivan IV had arrogated to himself;[1] and especially the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia (Zoe) Paleologus, niece and, so to speak, heir to the crown of the last Emperor of Byzantium. In these circumstances the idea of investing Moscow with the significance which Byzantium had formerly possessed in the eyes of the Russians and of giving their princes the right to consider themselves the legitimate successors of an Orthodox Christian Empire had very strong reasons not only for existing, but for passing from the purely theoretical sphere into that of reality.[2]

As if this were not enough to justify Moscow's pretensions to succeed Byzantium in the *rôle* of guardian of the principles of the true faith and the theocratic idea, or perhaps in order to buttress these pretensions with symbols which in the eyes of simple mortals would give them the indisputable weight and authority of dogmas, a whole cycle of legends was invented which attributed to Moscow universal primacy, lay and religious. For example, the Emperor Comnenus was said to have sent the imperial insignia of Constantine IX Monomachus to the Grand Prince Vladimir, also surnamed Monomachus.[3] This, presumably, was intended to demonstrate clearly that the transmission of the right of succession and the principle of sovereignty was not merely something invented by Moscow.

Then there was the legend which established a relation-

[1] See Note A at end of this chapter.

[2] This right of the Russian princes to claim the heritage of Byzantium was never seriously disputed in any quarter. There were even States which, for various reasons, recognised this right quite spontaneously and without being approached on the subject. For example, in the year 1473 'the Senate of Venice, ever prudent and precise,' as Father Pierling remarks (*Le Mariage d'un Tsar*, 'Revue des Questions Historiques,' October 8, 1887), 'on its own initiative recognised the rights of Ivan III over the Empire of Byzantium in default of male succession in the line of the Paleologi. The Doge did not hesitate to express this view openly in his letters to the Grand Prince.'

[3] See Note B at end of this chapter

ship between Rurik, first Prince of Russia and founder of the ruling dynasty at Moscow, with a brother of the Emperor Augustus. Finally, there was the legend of the white tiara said to have been sent by Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester as a symbol of the independence of the Church. The successors of Sylvester, according to Moscow, 'not feeling themselves worthy to wear it,' sent it to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Thence it passed to the Bishops of Novgorod, to be worn finally by the Metropolitan of Moscow.

The new title and the new duties which the Muscovite sovereigns had appropriated for themselves demanded a new political orientation and a new conception of the *rôle* which the Tsar should play in the maintenance of the prerogatives and glories of the Orthodox Church. A Tsarist-autocratic and independent-Orthodox Russia was bound to watch over the safeguarding of the principles which formed the basis of the new faith, and, where necessary, to combat the enemies of that faith. But this obligation of fighting in arms against the adversaries of the Orthodox religion was not envisaged by the Muscovite sovereigns until the first wars with the Turks; and even then it was far from being a clearly defined programme.

The principle of the sovereignty of the Tsar, however, underwent a very different development. Based upon the Byzantine principle which made the monarch the Lord's anointed and his vicar upon earth, it enabled the Muscovite sovereigns, and later the Emperors of Russia, to arrogate to themselves the right to dominate everything and control everything. And so in the end the spiritual as well as the temporal was completely subordinated by them by virtue of their title of sovereign protectors of the Church.

This omnipotence of the Tsars very soon annulled the independence, the authority, and the prestige of the Patriarchate, which in any case was created in Russia

much more under the influence of political motives than of religious necessities. Among the ten Patriarchs of the Greek-Russian Church who succeeded one another from the establishment of this high office until its suppression by Peter the Great there are scarcely two or three of whom history records anything more than their names, and only one—Nikon—about whom it has much to tell us; and even he ended his days banished and forgotten.

In any case the authority, if not the independence, of the supreme head of the national Church had already been seriously encroached upon by the power of the laity long before the creation of the Patriarchate. In the Russia of the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next century the 'Metropolitans of all Russia' (*mitropolity vsea Rousi*) had already ceased to enjoy the same prestige and veneration as one or two centuries earlier.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that they were left only the shadow of power, the Muscovite Metropolitans and later the Patriarchs continued by force of tradition to enjoy great privileges in the material sphere. Possessing as they did immense landed estates—in the sixteenth century the Russian Church owned one-third of the whole territory of Russia—incalculable treasures and hundreds of thousands of serfs, the Patriarch, the abbeys, and in general almost all the secular clergy were well sheltered from any danger or want.

That, as it happened, proved to be their ruin. To preserve their estates, their inheritances and the whole sum of their possessions the dignitaries of the Church showed themselves extremely servile towards the great of the land, and did not dare to raise their voices against flagrant injustices committed by the lay authorities or the sovereign. Similarly, always with the same object of safeguarding their material possessions and their social position, they closed their eyes completely to all the vices which were rife in lay society, and to those which

struck ever deeper roots in ecclesiastical and monastic circles, such as drunkenness, spoliation, idleness, and cupidity.

Such a state of things could obviously not endure indefinitely without provoking bitter criticism. Autocracy was but lately in the saddle, and could not close the mouths of all the Muscovites. Accordingly strong protests were raised against the feebleness of the high clergy, their lack of dignity, and their readiness to give all the arbitrary acts of the civil power the sanction of their authority. These protests were voiced not only by some monks in the course of the ecclesiastical meetings which were called *sobors*[1] and by some of the laity, but even by certain distinguished foreigners.

Maximus the Greek,[2] for example, did not hesitate to declare that among the Russian clergy of his time (the sixteenth century) one would seek in vain for a Samuel, an Elias, or a John Chrysostom (*Works of Maximus the Greek*, II, 336–37; III, 155). His illustrious disciple, Prince A. Kourbsky, was of the same opinion when he wrote: 'They (the Bishops) never tell the truth to the Tsar, but are content to agree with him.'

The vices which were rife in society at that time, of which the most widespread was sodomy, were the subject of a considerable number of flaming philippics, such as the epistle 'on the danger of conversation with effeminate men' of the Metropolitan Daniel,[3] and the anonymous letter addressed to Ivan IV in which its author affirmed that a great number of his compatriots 'treat their

[1] The institution of *sobors* (councils) was a legacy of Byzantium to Russia. In mediæval Russia the councils were held alternately in different large cities, and were known by the names of these cities. Later, in the time of the Patriarchs, there were ordinary *sobors*, attended only by the Bishops present in Moscow, and extraordinary *sobors*, composed of prelates specially summoned from all parts of Russia. Peter the Great suppressed this institution of *sobors* in 1721.

[2] See Note C at end of this chapter.

[3] '*Poslanie o tom iako vredno iest besedovati s mougi genovidnymi*' ('Sofyiskaia Biblioteka,' No. 1281, 292).

wives like shadows and find charm only in the louts who are the light of their eyes.'[1]

All these criticisms of the clergy, however, produced no tangible result, for the central power did nothing, or next to nothing, to remedy the existing state of affairs; and when it made a serious attempt to do so it was already too late. Peter suppressed the Patriarchate not merely for the reason that its existence incommoded his omnipotence as sovereign autocrat—in fact he paid little heed to Byzantine-Muscovite ideology—but because, as a jealous guardian of public order, he saw that the Patriarchate, decadent and overloaded with material wealth, could no longer be effective in bringing back the clergy to obedience to the law and respect for high moral standards.

But before the time of Peter the Great there was one energetic effort to check the moral decline of the high clergy. It was made by the celebrated Nikon, the sixth Patriarch of Russia.[2] His great friendship with the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch, father of Peter I, who considered him 'his dearest friend,' and the complete confidence which the sovereign placed in him—a confidence that went so far as to confer upon the Patriarch the title of 'eminent lord' (*velikyi gosoudar*)—enabled Nikon to accomplish much in this direction which his predecessors would never have dared to undertake. It is true that he stood head and shoulders above them, as much by his almost fierce energy and his commanding intellect as by the mystical idea which he held regarding the greatness of the Patriarchal power. 'Priesthood is higher than sovereignty,' he was accustomed to declare, and he compared temporal authority with the Moon and spiritual authority with the Sun.

[1] '*Tmoyou zovout genou, a svietom zovout detinou*' ('Tchtenie v obchtchestve istorii i drevnostey Rossyiskikh,' 1874, Vol. I, Part I, 81).

[2] Ikonnikof, *Novye materialy i troudi o patriarkhe Nikone* (New Light on the Patriarch Nikon), Kiev, 1888. Palmer (W.), *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, London, 1905.

In short, during the Patriarchate of Nikon the Byzantine conception of the Church, so closely linked to the State that she had no external activity except through it, was virtually reversed. The real sovereign was the Patriarch. In the preface which adorns the Missal (*sloujebnik*) published in the time of Nikon (1665), the Tsar and the Patriarch are described as ' a duality chosen and exalted by God,' for whom ' all those who live under their sceptre and their sovereign will, one and indivisible, should thank the Lord with psalms of gladness.' As if this were not enough, the Tsar two years later, on taking command of his army in the field, elevated Nikon to the dignity of regent of the ' *Tsarstvo*,' and charged him with the care of his family.

Nikon accepted all these unusual favours and the many and rich presents which were bestowed upon him as something due, not to himself, but to the Patriarch of all Russia. ' I shall not bow down before the Tsar for his presents,' he wrote, ' because all that he has given me will be repaid him a hundredfold in Heaven and he will gain Paradise as well.' But Nikon's bluntness and haughty manner and lack of gratitude, the reason for which was not appreciated by the Tsar, ended by alienating Alexis from his beloved Patriarch. Nikon's numerous enemies were quick to seize their opportunity and denounced him to the Tsar as an intriguer and a scoundrel. Brought before a council composed of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch and some Metropolitans, he was accused of high treason, and after being declared deposed from his high office he was exiled to a monastery a long distance away from the capital.

Nevertheless, despite the intransigence which ruined his career, Nikon was an imposing figure, which stands out in strong relief against the neutral background of the second half of the seventeenth century in Russia. This son of a simple peasant, who attained the high position which he occupied entirely through his own efforts, was

a man of learning and a friend of learning. He saved the life of the scholar Arsenius the Greek, who was exiled to the monastery of Solovetsk, situated on an island in the White Sea, for having professed heresies in teaching Greek and Latin to the youth of Moscow. He endowed certain monasteries with rich libraries, and had brought from Greece some hundreds of precious manuscripts, including especially works of Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Plutarch, Thucydides, and Demosthenes.

His most important achievement, however, by which his name is remembered, was the revision of the sacred books in accordance with the Greek originals. This task has been very tentatively begun by his predecessor, the Patriarch Joseph. Nikon carried it to completion. To clear the texts of the interpolations which disfigured them he chose some Greek grammarians and theologians of Kiev, and by so doing aroused the wrath of the ultra-Nationalists, such as the pope Avvakum and others, who had small confidence in the orthodoxy of the Byzantines and the men of Kiev. In the end all this regenerating work of Nikon recoiled upon himself. Not only did it give birth within the Russian Church itself to a schism (*raskol*)[1] but it was brought up against him on the day when it was decided to strike him down and put him under the ban of the Church of whose greatness and purity he had dreamed. Nikon was a reformer and a forerunner. After his disgrace, in 1660, Russia had to wait nearly half a century for another man of the same stamp—Peter the Great.

Notes

A. Ivan IV, although he habitually acted at his own will, was nevertheless fond of cloaking his actions with a semblance of legitimacy when it seemed to him desirable to do so. Knowing perfectly well that the legal

[1] See Note D at end of this chapter.

right of crowning belonged neither to the Metropolitan of Moscow nor to any Patriarch, but solely to the Pope and the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, he addressed himself to the latter with the request that he should sanction his coronation and recognise him as Tsar of all Russia. He might well have refrained from requesting this latter favour, inasmuch as the title of Tsar had already been borne before him by Muscovite Grand Princes, among others by Ivan III, and that this title had even been officially recognised in the case of the Grand Prince Vassili III by the Emperor Maximilian I. But evidently Ivan IV saw great importance in receiving from Constantinople a document which solemnly recognised him as Tsar and the Lord's anointed.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, who at this period was a certain Josaphat, had no reason whatever for refusing the request of the Muscovite Tsar, but on the contrary every inducement to satisfy this powerful monarch. He found it difficult, however, to convoke a synod of Bishops in order, as the law required, to initial the charter conferring on Ivan IV the title of '*Basileus*.' Accordingly he took it upon himself to commit a forgery. He duly signed the document which Moscow requested in person and had it signed by his vicar; but he contented himself with having the other thirty-five signatures of Metropolitans and Bishops imitated by a clerk of the Phanar. (Cf. Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*, pp. liii–lvi.)

B. That the story of the alleged transmission of the Imperial insignia of Constantine Monomachus to the Grand Prince of Kiev is mere legend is sufficiently proved by the fact that the so-called crown of Vladimir Monomachus which the Tsars of Russia wore has no resemblance whatever to the Byzantine crowns of the tenth century and subsequent centuries. Above all it lacks the circle or 'stemma' which was the distinctive element of all Byzantine crowns. Its conical form in particular indi-

cates rather an Asiatic origin. In short, this 'cap of Monomachus,' for it is a cap (*chapka*) and not a crown (*venetz*), probably came from the banks of the Volga or the territories bordering the Caspian Sea. It is probable that it was sent as a gift to one of the Russian Grand Princes by some Tartar khan. It is a well enough executed Oriental work, but hardly dates back further than the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. This, moreover, must be the article mentioned in the will of the Grand Prince Ivan II, dated 1356, in which reference is made to a certain '*chapka*.'

The suggestion that the crown and the other ornaments with which the Muscovite Tsars adorned themselves had a Byzantine origin does not appear until the sixteenth century, for it is not made earlier than the will of Ivan IV. At the period when the Muscovite sovereigns were only Grand Princes their crown was called a 'cap,' and nothing was known about its exalted origin. But, when they became Tsars, their cap became the 'cap of Monomachus' (*chapka Monomakha*), and there was invented for it a legend which, in the eighteenth century, had developed into a circumstantial story of how this cap came into the possession of the Muscovite sovereigns. It was said to be in the course of an expedition against Constantinople that Prince Vladimir (1113–25) received from the Emperor Constantine this crown and the surname of 'Monomachus.' The truth of this story is disposed of by history, which tells us that these two Monomachi lived at very different periods. (Cf. Regel, *op. cit.*, pp. lvii–lxxxvii.)

C. This Maximus the Greek, the descendant of an illustrious Albanian family, was a truly great and noble figure. After a long stay in Italy, which he devoted to the study of philosophy and theology and to forming friendships with many distinguished men of the period, he took orders under the influence of the impassioned discourses of Savonarola and retired to one of the

monasteries of Mount Athos. Unfortunately for himself, a few years later (1515) he was designated by the chapter of his monastery to go to Moscow, whose prince was loudly demanding a skilled translator and commentator on the Holy Scriptures.

At Moscow Maximus soon gathered about him some young people eager for learning and enlightened faith; but he also aroused the blind hatred of the high Russian clergy and nobility, whom he did not hesitate to accuse of immorality, cupidity, and crass ignorance. Finally the latter got the upper hand. Maximus was exiled to a distant monastery, imprisoned in a cell, and deprived of the Sacrament, all on the flimsy pretext of heresy in his interpretation of the sacred texts. He remained there several years, and even after the death of his persecutors did not regain complete liberty or obtain permission to leave Russia. The authorities of that country feared that Maximus would make painful revelations about the mentality and the morals of their land.

D. Those of the Russians who would not accept the reforms of Nikon and claimed that they held by the faith and especially the strict rites that their fathers had handed down to them were called *raskolnikis* (from the word *raskol*=schism) and also 'old believers' (*starovery* or *staroobriatzy*). They were in general obstinate and unruly in character. Despite centuries of persecution they preferred martyrdom to surrender of their religious convictions. To the very face of civil and religious authorities they anathematised the Church, which they were fond of comparing with the harlot of the Apocalypse. Skilled splitters of hairs, who apparently had inherited or borrowed from the Byzantine grammarians their taste for dialectical subtleties and theological discussions, the 'old believer' preachers and writers spent their time in defaming and embarrassing the official Church. They claimed, among other things, that Nikon had made his revision of the sacred books not by compari-

son with the old Slavonic texts, but by employing Greek books 'printed among the Germans,' or in other words abroad (the allusion was to the Greek breviary published in Venice in 1602).

That their influence upon the Russian masses seriously alarmed the Tsarist authorities at certain periods is proved by the following incident: In 1650, by order of the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovitch, the Bishop of Tver, Jonas, had instituted a solemn feast for June 12 in honour of a newly canonised saint, the Princess Anne of Kachin, who died in 1337. For twenty-seven years the feast of this Saint Anne was celebrated at Kachin and perhaps throughout Russia. But in 1677 the Patriarch Joachim, after an investigation of the relics of the saint, prohibited her feast and abolished all traces of it with a precipitateness which was almost desperate in its haste. The real motive for this measure was that the Princess had been found in her tomb with her right hand reposing on her breast in a manner which seemed to convey the gesture of giving benediction with the index and middle fingers. Benediction given with two fingers instead of three, as the reformer Nikon had prescribed, was one of those inviolable rites which the *raskolnikis* refused to forego, and for the sake of which they had set all Russia ablaze. It is probable that the Patriarch Joachim was anxious at all costs to put out of the reach of these sectaries an argument which might again arouse them to dangerous excesses.

At the outset of the schism there were only two dissident sects, that of the *popovtzis*, who admitted the ministry of priests and who by a decree of 1800 were more or less officially recognised under the name of *iedinoviertzis* (united believers); and that of the *biezpopovtzy*, who rejected the ministry of priests. But the cavilling spirit of the leaders of the *raskolnikis* and their passion for dogmatic controversy soon led to a condition in which they could no longer agree among themselves, with the

result that on the fringes of the community there developed a large number of further sects (*Tolky*), which in their internal evolution and in their rites had very often nothing in common with the spirit of Christianity, but inclined rather towards sorcery and a kind of orgiastic sadism. Modern Russian historians freely admit that all these so-called religious manifestations were rather deformities of various politico-social tendencies of the Russian masses.

Here something may perhaps be said about a heresy which, though it preceded by more than a century the schism of the 'old believers,' nevertheless had a direct influence upon certain communities with extraordinary ideas which issued from the movement of the *starovery*. I refer to the heresy or the sect of the 'Judaisants,' so called in memory of a certain Jew Skharia who is said to have brought it to Novgorod and propagated it there at the end of the fifteenth century. We do not know for what reason Skharia went to Novgorod. He was said to be versed in occult science and in alchemy. He appears rather to have been a vague humanist, attracted by the growing rationalism which Wyclif and John Huss, forerunners of the Reformation, had already sought to apply to the dogmas of the Christian Church.

At this period men's minds at Novgorod, as at Moscow, were somewhat overheated by theological discussions. The ideas of Skharia, of which he made no concealment, therefore fell upon soil well prepared to receive them. So there rapidly grew up, on the fringe of the 'Orthodox' Church, a heresy which denied transubstantiation in the Eucharist and the divinity of the person of Jesus Christ, refused to accept the triune name of God, and rejected ecclesiastical hierarchy and monachism. With this sect, however, Skharia had nothing to do, and neither he nor any other Jew played a part in the heresy, which was propagated entirely by Russian priests and laymen. It may be added that, if the sect of 'Judaisants' was able

for a certain length of time to enjoy immunity and recruit a considerable number of adherents, this was largely due to the sympathy which was shown towards it at the outset by the Grand Prince of Moscow, Ivan III (1462–1505).

(Cf. Panof, *The Heresy of the Judaisants*, St. Petersburg, 1877. N. Popof, *Narrative of the Sect of the Judaisants in the Light of the Acta Sanctorum*—Bulletin of the Academy of Science of St. Petersburg, Vol. XVIII, Bk. I).

CHAPTER VII

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH UNDER THE EMPERORS

I

ON his accession to the throne (1682) Peter found the Patriarchal chair occupied by a timorous man, an enemy of all contact with the West and of any borrowing from its ways of thought. On his death-bed he made his successor Andrew swear to follow his example—in other words, to continue his opposition to the West, to prevent the Orthodox from consorting with heretics, and to prohibit the latter from building churches and destroy those which already existed in Russia. His successor sought to follow this counsel, but immediately received a stern rebuke from the Tsar. He died ten years later, after having lost all prestige. Then, when the Tsar was asked to designate his successor, he replied : ' Henceforth I will be your Patriarch ' ; and he was as good as his word.

In suppressing the Patriarchate Peter, as we have seen above, was more concerned with purging the national Church than with meeting in advance the problematical rivalry of a representative of the spiritual power. There had been, of course, the case of Nikon. But the fact that Nikon had had to deal with a sovereign conspicuous for weakness of will, and that even then he had been beaten, showed clearly enough that an energetic Tsar, who held the reins of government firmly in his hands, could soon put in his place anyone who tried to deprive him of a particle of his power. Peter, however, was suspicious ; he was a man of boundless activity, and he had a super-

ficial roughness which ill concealed his inborn timidity. All this led him to replace the Patriarch by a council of lay and ecclesiastical officials, with a kind of Secretary of State at its head, who had a right of veto and was the embodiment of the Imperial power itself.

Peter could see no harm in this bold reform, and especially in the fact of charging laymen to interfere in the internal life of the Church. For, regarding the Church as a cog-wheel—an essential wheel, to be sure—of the administrative machine, and not as a society divinely established, he was persuaded that this wheel would function better if it was managed by an official responsible to the supreme authority instead of being controlled by an ecclesiastic whom it would be difficult to remove or punish. Moreover, in order that the rights and duties of each should be strictly defined, Peter endowed this new institution, which he baptised with the name of 'Most Holy Directing Synod,' with an 'Ecclesiastical Rule'[1] modelled upon that which regulated the functions of another institution corresponding to it, the 'Directing Senate.'

There has been endless discussion whether Peter was a believer or a downright atheist. Novelists, inspired by a fertile imagination, have presented him sometimes as a disguised pagan, sometimes as the very incarnation of Anti-Christ. The truth is that Peter was a man of impulse and an inquisitive mind. In his adolescence he had received no regular religious instruction and no moral teaching. Accordingly when he later made the acquaintance of a very persuasive man, better endowed than himself, he was quickly subjected to his way of thought and his manner of envisaging the problems of existence.

The man in question was Theophanes Prokopovitch.

[1] The Synod was solemnly inaugurated by Peter on February 14, 1721. Originally it was composed of eleven members *plus* the 'Secretary of State.' Later, the number of members was reduced to six. The first paragraph of the 'Ecclesiastical Rule' read: 'The Synod has above it no other authority than that of the august person of the Sovereign Autocrat.'

A former pupil of the Greek college of Saint Athanasius, founded in Rome under the Pontificate of Gregory XIII and intended especially for Greeks and Slavs, Prokopovitch on his return to Russia abjured the Catholic faith and plunged into an ill-conceived admiration of Baconism and Cartesianism which induced him to accept the boldest Protestant doctrines in relation to dogma and social and religious life.

Peter, following his example, accepted the superiority of lay morality over the teachings of the Church and the conception of State control of the religious life of the country. He inclined strongly towards Lutheranism, frequented Protestant churches, attended meetings of Quakers, and protected foreigners belonging to the Confession of Augsburg. But those who, on the strength of these marks of sympathy, credited him with profound religious feelings were quickly undeceived by the facts.

No sooner had he met a certain Father Vota, a Jesuit, at Rava, a town of Galicia, than he attended the Jesuit Mass, and displayed an extreme amiability towards the nuncio of the Pope. 'As a matter of fact,' wrote the nuncio Santa Croce, 'nobody knows anything about the religion of the Tsar Peter.' Another ecclesiastic, Father Milan, wrote in a letter to his superiors: 'In default of a miracle of the first order there is no hope of the Tsar Peter being converted and coming to an understanding with the Vatican. There are too many obstacles in the way: he would have to submit to the authority of the Pope and the rigours of morality, and renounce his whims and abuses of power.'[1]

Yet Peter himself gave birth to this hope of a reunion of the Churches in Rome and in Paris, as well as in the minds of all Catholics who came in contact with him. During his stay in Paris he discussed the question of union with the doctors of the Sorbonne, and asked them to prepare him a memorandum which he promised to

[1] Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, Vol. IV, p. 227.

have examined by the Russian prelates on his return to St. Petersburg. What was the result? The authorities of the Sorbonne prepared their document with all haste and presented it to the Tsar, who passed it on to the Bishops of his entourage, who in their turn politely but firmly rejected the propositions and suggestions put forth by Paris.[1]

A thorny dilemma presented itself in 1702 to the Papal nuncio at Vienna, Antonio Davia—either to agree within a month to the reunion of the Churches or to let the Tsar Peter negotiate with the Protestants. The Protestants of Petersburg had profited by the sympathy of the Tsar, but at this period a scheme of union with the Orthodox had not yet developed in their minds.

Was all this calculated trickery? No; it was rather a sublime indifference to the consequences which might follow upon views expressed at random, and also to a certain measure of expansiveness natural in a generous and overflowing nature. But, while Peter was discussing questions of dogma with the doctors of the Sorbonne, adopting as his own the ideas of Leibnitz about the reunion of the Churches, and sending industrious and skilful ambassadors to Rome, his devoted servants were tying the national Church ever more tightly to the chariot of the State.

The Synod—that 'eye of the Tsar' (*oko gosoudarevo*), of which each member on his nomination had to swear to defend the interests of the State in all circumstances—imposed upon the Bishops the obligation of constantly supervising the doings of the lower clergy. The Bishops were forbidden to build too large a number of churches, to launch anathemas at random, and especially to play an active part in public affairs. They were supervised, moreover, by a special police called *fiskaly*.[2]

[1] Father Pierling, *La Sorbonne et la Russie*, Paris, 1882.

[2] *Oukazy Petra Velikago* (The Ukases of Peter the Great). Edit. of 1739, year 1714, p. 2. *Ecclesiastical Rule*, Edit. of 1861, p. 251, pars. 4 and 7.

The continually increasing expenses of the young State compelled the Treasury to be continually on the look-out for new sources of revenue. In due course the Bishops and the monasteries were forbidden to undertake the management of their landed and other property and dispose of their revenues as they chose. The State took charge of their business, and put in its own pockets the major part of these revenues. Further, the privileges which the Church had enjoyed were suppressed, and arrears in the payment of taxes and dues very frequently led to simple confiscation of the landed property of the debtor.

On the other hand, the necessity of replacing casualties suffered in the army in the course of a series of costly and decimating wars led the Government of Peter to limit the number of priests and deacons in the dioceses. The law of 1711 allowed only one pope and one deacon in every parish; all unattached ecclesiastics were incorporated in the army. This law was strengthened in 1722 by a regulation limiting the number of parishes throughout the Empire. The recruitment and substitution of the secular clergy—still known to-day as the 'white clergy' (*bieloie doukhovenstvo*) to distinguish them from the monks, or 'black clergy' (*tchernoie doukhovenstvo*)—were made subject to election, sale of the cure, or inheritance. Nobles were given the right to become priests or deacons on condition that they were more than forty years of age and did not possess inherited landed property. The same right was granted to a certain number of the peasant class, but only in order to fill the gaps in the ecclesiastical *cadres* which had been disorganised by the Tsar Peter's reforms.

Severe regulations were framed with the object of stopping the vagabondage of those of the priests who were addicted to changing their parishes and even their dioceses. The popes who had left their parishes were brought back there by force and placed under the super-

vision of the notables of the place, and those of them who refused to submit were forthwith unfrocked.

The material as well as the moral situation of the clergy in the time of Peter and his immediate successors was therefore sufficiently unpleasant. The 'Ecclesiastical Rule,' by the mere fact of turning ministers of religion into officials, compelled them to report to the authorities all the failings of their flock, to spy upon their private life, and even—what was still more serious—to denounce those who did not go to Mass or abstained from confession.[1] All this naturally tended to alienate the people from their spiritual pastors. But there existed also a further cause of alienation—the economic dependence of the clergy on their parishioners. Wretchedly paid by the State, and generally possessing a numerous family, the popes and deacons, especially in the country, lived in the exact sense of the phrase on tenter-hooks with their people, who were themselves poor if not actually needy. The conflicts which continually occurred about the maintenance of the clergy by their parishioners were scarcely calculated to make for harmony between the shepherds and their flocks.

At the end of the reign of Peter the right to manage its own property was restored to the Church; but constant raids were made upon its resources to meet Treasury deficiencies or even the expenses of the Court. The Church was especially hard squeezed during the reign of Anna Ioannovna. The Empress's favourite, who was also Regent of the Empire, the unscrupulous Ernest Beiron, had no hesitation in laying the episcopal palaces under heavy tribute for the upkeep of his stables and stud farms. The recovery of taxes was frequently carried out by force of arms.

Finally the inevitable happened. The Church soon found herself at the end of her resources, and there came a time when the 'economic college' could not even pay

[1] *The Ukases of Peter the Great.* Year 1722, Ukase of July 16.

the members of the Synod their salaries. The counsellors of Peter III then first envisaged the idea of simply confiscating all Church property to the advantage of the State. This bold project, however, was not actually carried into execution until 1764, during the reign of Catherine II. The higher clergy were left their palaces and their country houses, together with a few acres of land. In exchange for the property of which they were despoiled the Bishops, Archbishops, and Metropolitans were granted fixed salaries, together with certain privileges, as a rule merely formal.

There was one prelate, Arsenius Matsievitch, Metropolitan of Rostov, who dared to protest vigorously against the unjust confiscation of the property of the Church which had long been coveted by the State. This courageous action to which his conscience impelled him brought him a terrible punishment. Arrested and turned over to the Synod, he was condemned to degradation and exile, and prohibited from using pen and ink. Catherine at the outset mitigated this hard sentence, spared the old man the torture to which he was subjected, and restored him his monk's habit. But, for political reasons, she soon went back on her decision and had him dragged from one prison to another and thrown in a dungeon where he died of hunger and cold. His very name was suppressed; he was called Andrew *vral*, which means Andrew the dotard.[1]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the nomination of the parish priesthood by election had fallen into desuetude. This method of recruitment was in any case regarded by certain high Russian prelates and theologians as contrary to the canons of the Church. The participation of certain priests in popular disturbances and peasant risings, which occurred during the reign of Peter I, precipitated the complete abolition of the

[1] Bilbassof, *Istoria Ekateriny Vtoroi*, Berlin, 1900, Bk. II, pp. 264–71. Popov, *Arsenyi Matsievitch, mitropolit Rostovskyi*, St. Petersburg, 1905.

elective principle. After that parishes changed their priests by inheritance, or, more rarely, by sale. Frequently the cure of a parish was a wedding present or was given to orphans or needy persons.

Accordingly it was rarely that a young cleric who aspired to become a parish priest married a girl who did not belong to the ecclesiastical world. Certainly the law did not prevent him, but established custom had the force of law, and in general before obtaining the cure of a parish one married the daughter of some pope or deacon.[1] Everything, therefore, contributed towards making the Russian clergy a very distinct class in Russian society. The rigidity of this ecclesiastical class and its particular mould of mind were not seriously broken into until the second half of last century. The law of May 26, 1869, abolished the recruitment of priests by inheritance, and gave all Russians without distinction of class the right to belong to the secular clergy.

The Russian seminaries were not organised along the same lines as the Catholic seminaries. The instruction given there in the first years of the course was somewhat similar to that of the lay secondary schools. In the later years theological studies were superimposed upon classical studies. The schedule of the courses was extremely burdensome, and it was usually difficult to complete them in six years of study. For the more gifted seminarists there were four ecclesiastical academies (at Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Kazan) which opened the way for them to the episcopate if they wished to make a serious profession of religious life.

Although from the beginning of the eighteenth century they belonged to the 'privileged classes,' being exempt from military service and not being liable to requisition to 'go and work in the houses of the officers,' the Russian clergy remained for a long time subject, like the non-

[1] To become a priest in Russia one must be already married; but remarriage is not permitted.

privileged classes, to corporal punishment. In 1767 the Synod prohibited the ecclesiastical authorities from ordering priests to be whipped. In 1771 this prohibition was extended to deacons. But the civil tribunals paid no attention to it. Under Paul I the Synod petitioned the Emperor for permission to relieve the clergy of the humiliation of the knout. The Emperor consented, but the Imperial ordinance was never applied, for it coincided with the ukase re-establishing corporal punishment for the nobles themselves. By way of compensation it was decreed that members of the clergy could be decorated in the same way as nobles and officers.[1]

Finally, in 1801, this lack of respect on the part of the Government towards the clergy and its indifference about safeguarding their prestige in the eyes of the people came to an end. Seven years later the families of priests and deacons were in their turn exempted from corporal punishment. But it was not until 1862, the year of the abolition of serfdom, that the same privilege was extended to sub-deacons and sacristans.

Such was the rough school in which the Russian clergy were trained in the time of the Emperors. Is it astonishing in such circumstances that their influence upon the masses was less than it might have been? Is it not rather matter for astonishment that, though they were for a very long time compelled to act as an auxiliary police force of the Empire, though they were constrained always to bow to the representatives of the civil power, and though they frequently lived in a state of poverty unsuited to their condition, nevertheless in the course

[1] In justice to the Russian clergy it should be said that some of its high dignitaries were at the outset opposed to the granting of decorations to ecclesiastics. The Metropolitan Plato, for example, who had been Paul I's teacher, wrote a letter to his former pupil in which he counselled him not to put his project into effect. But Paul, who was no lover of contradiction, went out of his way to recommend the eminent prelate to mind his own business. Out of this incident arose the definite breach between the Emperor and the Metropolitan.

of these last two centuries they threw up some outstanding figures, some personalities truly remarkable for their sterling honesty, their learning, and their intellectuality?

II

From the death of Peter I to the partition of Poland, which necessarily brought the Empress Catherine II into contact with the spiritual head of her new subjects, it may be said that there was an almost complete cessation of official relations between Russia and the Holy See.[1]

Private relations between Orthodox and Catholics, on the other hand, had never been so numerous and continuous. The road which led to Rome—known to the Russians since the end of the seventeenth century, thanks to the pilgrimage to the Vatican of a great lord such as Boris Petrovitch Cheremetiev, or the protracted stay which was made in the Eternal City by that shrewd and skilful diplomat, Prince Boris Kourakine—was travelled many times during this period by many Muscovites of high rank. That for many of them the mere fact of a journey abroad was the principal attraction is not to be doubted. But with the longing for new horizons, with the lure of the West, there were often intermingled considerations of a higher order.

In these cases they went to Rome because they were impelled by an intense desire to find an answer to the questions, and a solace for the anxieties, which filled their hearts and minds to bursting point. Pilgrimages of this kind were the more meritorious in that the risk which was run in undertaking them was well known to be a real one. However fluid the penal code might be in this respect, Orthodox who went over to Catholicism were nevertheless regarded as State criminals. Those Russians who were careful to conceal their adherence to the Roman Church, therefore, had something to be said for them.

[1] Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, Bk. IV.

A Princess Irina Dolgorouky, descendant of an aristocratic Russo-Lithuanian family (she was born a Galitzine) and a relative of one of the greatest names of the Empire, was subjected to one humiliation after another, and finally condemned to exile, because she frankly and publicly proclaimed her conversion to the Catholic faith. The audience which, before her departure, she had of the Empress Anna Ioannovna shows very clearly what position the Russian aristocracy of that time occupied in relation to the supreme power. The Empress received the Princess Dolgorouky in the room of her ladies of honour, beside the Imperial cabinet. 'When my great-great-grandmother,' so Prince Peter Dolgorouky relates in his *Mémoires*, 'bent down according to etiquette to kiss the hand of the Empress, the latter gave her a resounding smack in the face, heaped insults upon her as a coachman might have done, and terminated the audience with these words: "Get out of here, you fool!" (*pochla von, merzavka!*).'[1]

With the accession of Catherine I to power Russia resumed the course of innovation, and attempts at reform, more or less vigorously applied, were renewed. The dominant preoccupation of Catherine, inspired by her steadfastness of mind and her cold and calculating intelligence, was the enslaving of the Church by the State. Peter the Great, as we have just seen, incarnated this idea, but kept it within the bounds of official Orthodoxy. Catherine extended it to the Catholics.

The conception of a Church divinely established and charged here on earth with a supernatural mission, entrusted to the Vicar of Christ, was completely foreign to her.[2] Hence arose her constant efforts to restrain the freedom of action of the Pope; and hence again arose inextricable difficulties with the Holy See. The organi-

[1] Prince Peter Dolgorouky, *Mémoires*, Geneva, 1867, Bk. I, p. 364.
[2] Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, Bk. V (Preface).

sation and the very existence of the Latin and Uniate Churches in the Empire were subjected by Catherine to control by, and dependence upon, the Government of Saint Petersburg. In order to intimidate the Vatican the Empress prohibited the publication in Russia of the Pontifical brief dissolving the Society of Jesus, and threw the frontiers of the Empire wide open to those who belonged to it.

Although very few Jesuits availed themselves of this Imperial hospitality, Catherine was very proud of herself and regarded her gesture as a diplomatic victory over Rome. But finally, as she could not always live at daggers drawn with the Holy See, especially in view of the fact that she numbered among her subjects millions of Catholics, negotiations for the sending of a new ambassador of the Roman Curia to Russia were painfully resumed. Before they had come to a conclusion, however, the Empress died.

The reign of her son and successor Paul I was chiefly dominated by his desire to undo everything that his illustrious mother had created and ordered. But, as this monarch had a fickle mind, orders and counter-orders followed and crossed and contradicted one another without intermission. Paul, moreover, was above all a mystic who had an exaggerated idea of his autocratic power and his divine appointment. There was only one point on which he never varied: the profound conviction that he was the anointed of the Lord, and that he represented the whole national Church.

Accordingly, what a spectacle was presented by the coronation of Paul I at Moscow in 1797! With what pomp was it surrounded, and how great was the significance with which he invested it! The Emperor in his mantle of cloth of gold trimmed with ermine bore, like the Cæsars of Byzantium, a dalmatic of red velvet. He approached the Holy Table, received the sacred oils, and himself placed the Imperial crown on his head and then

crowned his wife.[1] I shall refer later to some legislative acts of high importance which he deposited on the altar and entrusted to the care of the clergy. Among them was the charter regulating the succession to the throne, in which the Emperor gave himself the honorific title of 'Caput Ecclesiæ' (*Glava tserkvi*).[2]

But, although he was a fervent and convinced Orthodox, Paul I was not in principle hostile to other religions. Moreover, in his capacity as Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, most of whose members were Catholics, it would have been difficult for him to show a marked animosity towards the non-Orthodox. Finally, he was on excellent terms with Pope Pius VII, who corresponded with him. This explains why Paul deliberately closed his eyes to a fact unique in the annals of the religious history of modern Russia: the return to the unity of the Church of thousands of Orthodox in the provinces of the South-West.

In addition his implacable hatred of the Jacobin Revolution made Paul seek alliances in the direction of Rome. Despite his despotic tendencies, he went so far as to suggest to Father Gruber, General of the Jesuits, who had frequent access to the Imperial cabinet, that the affairs of the Catholics should henceforth be settled in accordance with the canons of the Council of Trent. At the moment when a Palace conspiracy brought his reign to a tragic end a project of union between the Churches of East and West was on its way to Rome, and, adds Father Pierling, 'at the Emperor's orders the Orthodox Bishops were mending their pens.'[3]

[1] During the solemnising of the coronation there occurred a very characteristic little incident. Noticing that Paul had not discarded his sword before approaching the Holy Table, the Primate of Moscow, the celebrated Metropolitan Plato (Levchine), stopped him with these words: 'Put away your sword, most pious Tsar; in this sanctuary only bloodless sacrifices are offered.' And Paul, for all the autocrat that he was, could do no other than bow before the demand of the prelate. (Schilder, *Imperator Pavel I*, Vol. I, p. 343, St. Petersburg, 1901.)

[2] Schilder, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[3] Father Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, Bk. V, p. 309.

During the reign of the successor of Paul I the relations of Russia with the Holy See, as well as Imperial policy in regard to the Russian Church, experienced inevitable ups and downs. At the beginning of the reign of Alexander I there was a return to the system of Catherine, but it was applied with less rigour and logic. It was then strictly forbidden to enter into correspondence with Rome except through official channels. The Masonic lodges were regarded with more favour, and the Emperor himself was initiated into Freemasonry. But a few years later the wind changed. The Emperor began to tire of the Freemasons.[1] Then he developed a fondness for the Bible Society, whose statutes, brought to Russia in 1813 by the pastor John Paterson, were modelled upon those of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

By order of the Emperor, who took a keen interest in the work of this pastor, a number of high dignitaries of the Orthodox Church were obliged to attend meetings of this society, whose spirit was purely Protestant, and even to join the committee. But this did not last long. Becoming ever more troubled and suspicious, the Emperor sought solitude and deliberately enveloped himself in mystery. It is alleged that in 1825 there were secret conversations between Saint Petersburg and Rome. It is even said that Alexander informed the Pope of his firm intention personally to abjure Orthodoxy and to bring back to unity the people over whom he ruled.[2]

But, for that matter, what has not been said about

[1] The presence of Freemasons in Russia was mentioned for the first time in authentic documents in 1731. The Empress Elizabeth Petrovna left them alone. Peter III favoured them. Catherine II, at first indifferent, quickly became hostile. Paul I, who detested all that his mother had done, seemed at the outset of his reign responsive to the hopes of the Freemasons, but in 1799 he prohibited secret associations. Finally Alexander, after being more than tolerant towards them, suddenly swung the other way. He became definitely hostile, and by an ukase dated August 8, 1822, ordered all lodges to be closed and all secret societies to be suppressed. (Cf. A. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et La Russie*, Bk. I, p. 102.)

[2] Boudou, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, p. 136.

Alexander; and who can hope to get to the bottom of what he said himself? Alexander was a tormented spirit, a troubled mortal who could neither trust anybody nor be sure of anything. He contrived to mix long conversations with Baroness Krudener with interviews with Quakers, with pietists of all shades, with monks Orthodox and Capuchin, with the Archimandrite Photius and Mgr Hohenlohe. Then, again, contrast what he said to Joseph de Maistre about the universal Church and the greatness of Catholicism with the reply which he made in 1817 to the Swedish Lutheran Witberg, who thought of turning Orthodox and consulted the Emperor on the subject. 'Personally,' said Alexander, 'it is a matter of indifference to me to what confession a man belongs, for all Churches are good.'

In these circumstances one can only regard as a historical fable, for all the notoriety it received, the story of Alexander's conversion to Catholicism on his death-bed. 'The most circumstantial and authentic reports,' as A. Boudou very justly points out, 'show us at his bedside the figure of the Orthodox arch-priest Alexis Fedotov.'[1] Another legend rather more plausible gathered around the death of Alexander. It was said and believed that he did not die at Taganrog in 1825, but that he went and hid himself in Siberia, whence he reappeared some years later in the person of an old man, Fedor Kuzmitch. Nothing was known of the past of this Fedor Kuzmitch, and it appeared that the name under which he went was not his own. On the other hand, his presence, his imposing figure, and his appearance very strikingly recalled the features and the majestic carriage of the dead Tsar.

The rector of the seminary of Tomsk, who went to see him in 1859 in a village of that government, carried back the impression that Fedor Kuzmitch was a Uniate theologian of Western Russia or a mystical philosopher

[1] Boudou, *op. cit.*, Bk. I, p. 139.

and Freemason. During the twenty years that he spent in Siberia Fedor Kuzmitch changed his residence several times in order to avoid the notoriety which attached to him, and left behind nothing but the memory of some extraordinary words and actions. He died at Tomsk on January 20, 1864, after having, as usual, refused the Holy Sacrament.

Here comes the inexplicable part of the matter: this stranger, who died outside the official communion, was nevertheless buried in the monastery of Saint Alexis, and on his tombstone was placed a cross with the inscription: 'Here lies the body of the great and blessed (*blagoslovennyi*, which was the surname given by the Russian Church to Alexander I) elder, Fedor Kuzmitch.' Later, the Governor of Tomsk had the words 'great and blessed' erased, and the provincial authorities had to take steps to restrain the misplaced devotion of the visitors who flocked to the tomb of the mysterious old man.[1]

The policy of Nicholas I towards Rome, as towards the national Church, was of a more than military roughness. It was during his reign that there were held in Polotzk, in 1839, the famous sessions which wrenched several millions of Uniate Russians from obedience to Rome. The commemorative medal which was struck on this occasion bore these words: 'Separated by violence (1596), reunited by love (1839).' This arbitrary act of policy, however, did not stand in the way of the conclusion in 1847 of an accord between the Holy See and Russia. It was not a regular concordat, but simply an arrangement (*accommodamento*). That, perhaps, was why it could not stand the strain of Russian policy towards the Catholics in 1866—the policy which was the sequel to the second Polish insurrection of 1863.

[1] P. Peeters, *The Canonisation of Saints in the Russian Church* (Analecta Bollandiana, Vol. XXXIII, 1919, p. 419). Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovitch, *Legenda o kontchine imperatora Alexandra I v Sibire* (Legend of the Death of the Emperor Alexander I in Siberia), St. Petersburg, 1907.

The relations then abruptly broken off between Rome and Saint Petersburg were resumed in 1883 after the coronation of Alexander III. Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli carried to Moscow an olive branch from the Holy Father. Alexander III gave him a cordial welcome, and hastened to reply to Leo XIII in a letter full of deference and respect. But at the moment matters went no further, and it was not until ten years later that an accord was signed which could really be called a concordat.

The policy of the Emperors towards the national Church in the course of the nineteenth century was similar to that of their predecessors. The idea that the Imperial dignity was a kind of religious ministry comparable with priesthood, and that the Tsar at his coronation received a special and extraordinary grace, was established in the minds of the majority of Russians. But was this power of the Muscovite Tsars—which, as Vladimir Soloviev remarks, ' presumed to regard itself as universal, even though it had an exceptional significance only for the Orthodox Church '—really created by the Emperors themselves? If one looks into the matter more closely and excludes Peter the Great and Paul I, it would seem rather that it was the result of the subtle speculations and mystical meditations of minds near akin to those which, in the Russia of earlier times, had elaborated the intoxicating idea of the ' Third Rome.'

III

More than two-thirds of the eighteenth century in Russia from the religious point of view was marked by the struggle which then took place within the Orthodox Church itself between Catholic influence and Protestant influence. Encouraged by the support which they found, or at least imagined that they found, in Peter the Great, the Lutherans, with the impetuous Theophanes Prokopovitch at their head, hoped for nothing less than that

they could gradually bring the Greco-Russian Church to share their views on the traditional writings, on the procession of the Holy Ghost, and also on the necessity of applying history and philology to the study of the Holy Scriptures.

It was on this latter point that Prokopovitch was most insistent. He was a convinced partisan of it, as he was of the necessity of separating moral theology sharply from dogmatic, which he regarded as an exact science.[1] But, imbued as he was with Protestantism, Prokopovitch conceived of the Church only as an assembly of persons united together solely for a practical and definite purpose. The idea that the Church was a body divinely established, charged here on earth with a supernatural mission, was foreign to him. This was brought out by another Russian theologian, Stephen Iavorsky, in his work entitled 'The Rock of the Faith' (*Kamien very*), in which all the opinions of foreign authors to which Prokopovitch was fond of referring were dismissed as 'ineptae opiniones.'

Like Prokopovitch himself, Stephen Iavorsky was a former pupil of that ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev (Kievomoguilianskyi Kollegium) which was long the nursery of Russian doctors and theologians. After completing his studies at Kiev he went abroad, became a convert to Roman Catholicism—as was not unusual at that time—and lived for some years at Lwow and Poznan to take a course of studies at the great seminaries of these two cities. Returning to Russia in 1687 he abjured Catholicism, was pardoned for his lapse, and, on the advice of his protector, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Barlaam Iasinsky, two years later assumed the monk's habit, which gave him the possibility of being elevated to the episcopate.

But the teaching of the Jesuits and the influence of the Catholic doctors had taken so firm a hold upon Stephen that he could never completely rid himself of

[1] *Theophani Prokopovitz theologia dogmatica*, Lipsiae, 1782–1792.

them. All his writings, both in their form and their substance, bear witness to these influences. In writing his work against the doctrine of Prokopovitch he made especial use of Bellarmine. Prokopovitch replied to him by a work published in Jena in 1729 under the form of letters from the German philosopher Buddeus to a Russian friend in Moscow. The work was rude in manner and essentially unjust in substance. It referred to Iavorsky as a Jesuit, a Papist, and a man of muddy mind.

The defence of Iavorsky was undertaken by the Dominican Bernard Ribera, chaplain of the Spanish Ambassador in Russia. Unfortunately Ribera had no authority in the eyes of Prokopovitch. His opinion about the Dominican, whom he had long known through discussions at the ecclesiastical Academy of Saint Petersburg, was already formed. He regarded him as an ignorant Frank and a poor Latinist, whose behaviour smacked of the South and whose sweeping gestures were ridiculous. Ribera's response, therefore, ran off him like water off a duck's back.

Very different, however, was the effect of the bitter criticisms directed against Prokopovitch by another partisan of Stephen, the Russian theologian Theophylact Lopatinsky. His lectures on dogmatism, like those of the Archimandrite Sylvester Kouliabka, delivered at the Academy of Kiev in the years 1741–46, in a moderate scholastic spirit which did not seek to separate dogmatic from moral theology, made the theses and methods of the great doctors of Catholicism prevail during the first half of the eighteenth century in the ecclesiastical instruction given in Russia. The Protestant influence of Theophanes Prokopovitch did not make itself really felt until after the year 1750, but it was so profound and lasting that it continued in the teaching of the ecclesiastical academies during the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The ideas of Prokopovitch dominated the courses

which were given at the end of the eighteenth century by several Russian theologians such as George Konissky, Irenius Falkovsky, and especially Theophylact Gorsky, who combined with them the teachings of Buddeus and of Schubert. The writings of two dignitaries of the Russian Church of the same period, the Metropolitan Plato and the Archimandrite Macarius (catechism, dogmatic theology, etc.), were also not free from Lutheran influence. In fact it was only with the celebrated works of the Metropolitan Macarius, which appeared in the middle of the following century, that the purely Russian point of view of the Church, Christianity, and dogma began to predominate in instruction as well as in theological works.

But this clash of contradictory influences within the Russian Church, and the gradual development by the doctors of that Church of a Russian Orthodox doctrine, scarcely interested the laity and frankly bored a considerable number of them. In general little attention was paid to the controversies in which the professional theologians took part.

IV

At all times the Russian people refused to accord to the hierarchs the sole right to represent the Church and her doctrine. According to them laity and ecclesiastics possessed and should exercise an equal right to participation in the internal life of the Church, in her teaching, in the maintenance of her doctrine and her canons, and in her glory and her universal triumph. In short, the Church ought to live an entirely popular ecclesiastical life, since only where the people took a 'counselling' (*soborno*) part in the affairs of the Church could that Church become truly the Church of Christ.[1]

[1] This term *soborno*, employed to define the internal structure of the Church, was based upon the revised text of the Œcumenical Creed of Nicea-Constantinople which read: Tvo edinou, sviatouu, *sobornouu*, i apostolskouu Tserkov (= Et unam, sanctam, *conciliarem*, et apostolicam Ecclesiam). I have said that the Slavonic text of the Creed was revised. In fact, until the

This idea, after having slept for several centuries in the Russian soul, captivated by a sort of mystical equality, came to light again in the middle of the last century, thanks to the Slavophile movement, reinforced by the circular declaration of the Patriarchs of the East when they proclaimed solemnly in 1848 that 'the true guardian of Christian piety is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is to say the whole of the people.' It quickly became, if not the keystone of the whole politico-social structure of the Panslavists, at least the principal article of their religious doctrine, brilliantly defined by Komiakof and Samarine,[1] and shortly to be linked to that other idea developed by Dostoievsky in *The Brothers Karamazov*—namely, that it is not the Church which ought to resemble the State, but the State which ought to merge itself in the Church.[2]

fourteenth century the Slavonic Creed differed in no way (apart from the *Filioque*) from the Creed of the Roman Church. The word *kafolitcheskouu* was replaced (at least in the texts in Cyrillic characters) by the term *sobornouu* when the Russian Church adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the Papacy. What, however, does the word *kafolitcheskaia* really mean, and can it be replaced by the word *sobornaia*? The former word has the sense 'spread through the whole world,' and differs in nothing except a Greek letter from the word *Catholic*. But the adjective *sobornaia*, derived from the substantive *sobor*, that is 'council,' can only be translated by 'gathered together,' and therefore in no way expresses the idea of universality. In short, the word *sobornaia* has a double meaning; it is an equivocal word which can be taken to signify a national Church as well as the Œcumenical Church. But the present 'Orthodox' school (S. Boulgakof, N. Berdiaief, Bezobrazof, etc.) make great play with it, for they oppose 'counselling' democracy (*sobornost*) to monarchical unity, to Catholicity (*katolitchestvo*). (Cf. A. Gezen, *Istoria slavianskago perevoda simvola very* (History of the Slav Translations of the Creed), St. Petersburg, 1889.

[1] The assertion that the guardian of the faith is the Christian people as a whole was not an original idea of Khomiakof. It has its foundation in the reply of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Antimius, to Pope Pius IX. (Cf. A. Khomiakof, *Quelques Mots par un chrétien orthodoxe*, Paris, 1859. *L'Eglise Latine et le protestantisme au point de vue de l'Eglise d'Orient*, Lausanne, 1872. Zavitneviteh, *A. Khomiakof*, Kiev, 1902. Liaskovskyi, *A. Khomiakof. Ego jizn i sotchinenia* (A. Khomiakof, His Life and Works), Moscow, 1897. B. Nolde, *Touryi Samarine i ego vremia* (George Samarine and his Times), Paris, 1926.

[2] 'It is not the Church which transforms itself into the State, be very sure of that,' Dostoievsky makes Father Paisy say. 'That is a Roman dream,

But, *dilettanti* of learning and improvisers of belief that they were, the Slavophiles hardly succeeded in doing more than create an extreme confusion in the minds and the souls of the Russians—a confusion which Vladimir Solovief devoted himself for years to explaining, but which, despite his greatness of heart and mind, he was not able to remove. The Slavophiles and their disciples have often reproached the national Church for her indifference towards the people and her lack of solicitude for them. They have reason for the charge; but they are too ready to forget that the secular clergy, restricted as they were to a certain line of conduct and controlled by the teaching which they had received in the seminary, usually found it impossible to lead, or even to follow, the people along the path which mysticism traced for them. On the other hand, the Slavophiles regarded the Russians as a chosen people, the only people who had in them the divine idea and the worship of truth, saintliness, and asceticism. In short, they represented them as the vehicle of God, who knew everything, understood everything, and had nothing to learn from anybody.

That is where all their reproaches and all their jeremiads sound false. 'To teach something to one who knows everything is to unsettle him completely,' says a Russian proverb. Moreover, if the ministers of the established Church paid little regard to the people, the people on the other hand generally repudiated their control, rejected their teaching, or at least paid little attention to it, and preferred to seek refuge in the meanderings of a half-pagan religiosity, on the one hand dionysiac, psycho-physical, which shook their being to the

and the third temptation of the Evil One. On the contrary, it is the State which transforms itself into the Church, which rises up to the Church, and becomes the Universal Church. Quite a different thing, which has nothing to do with Rome, or with ultramontanism, but is the great predestination of Orthodoxy upon this earth. It was in the East that the Star appeared.' (*The Brothers Karamazov*, Part I, Bk. II, Ch. V.)

point of madness; and on the other mystical, with that rank and super-terrestrial mysticism which Harnack, in speaking of Russian Orthodoxy, calls '*Jenseitmotif*.'

This peculiarity of Russian religious feeling has been noted and put on record by the philosopher N. Berdiaief. 'The old Russian paganism,' he writes, 'is intermingled with Russian Christianity and has given it a highly specialised character. Russian Orthodoxy has an element of Christian Dionysianism which one encounters nowhere else in Byzantine Orthodoxy. There exists somewhere a point of contact between Russian Orthodoxy and the extraordinary mystic-dionysiac sect of Russian flagellants (*Khlisty*), a sect in which Christianity is intermingled in a bizarre, and even terrifying, fashion with an old Russian paganism. In the worship which the Russians profess for the Mother of God, which often overshadows the figure of her Divine Son, one can readily perceive a worship of the soil of Russia. The image of this Russian soil, Mother Earth, and that of the Mother of God are frequently confused in the minds of the people. Russian Christianity is much more a belief essentially feminine than a religion of masculine sex.'[1]

Evidently such a Christianity, or rather such a religious syncretism, has never been capable of being enclosed within a theological doctrine, of adapting itself to any moral and intellectual discipline, or of contenting itself with surrendering to the Church the charge of being the intermediary between it and divine authority. In short, 'the Russian faith' has always been manifested and expressed on the borderlands of the Church. We have here the same phenomenon which may be remarked

[1] N. Berdiaief, *Rousskaia religioznaia idea* (The Russian Religious Idea), pp. 63, 64. Ex. from the collection entitled: 'Problemy rousskago religuioznago soznatia' (The I.M.C.A. Press, Berlin, 1924). A very detailed analysis of this work has been published under the signature of Konrad Weber in the *Benediktinische Monatschrift*, Nos. 3–4 and 5–6, 1925.

in the political sphere: the Russian people's lack of receptivity for any constituted authority.[1]

That 'right to ignore the State' which the Russian people arrogated to themselves was closely linked in their thought with a right to ignore the Church, the emanation and creation of that same State. For this reason the hostility and even the contempt which they exhibited in general towards the secular clergy is to be explained not only by the economic dependence of the clergy upon their parishioners, not only by the precarious material situation of the former, but also, and especially, by the impassable gulf which separated the two mentalities—the one moulded by a rigid and academic teaching and a hard administrative schooling; the other always on the defensive, always suspicious, always ready to follow its absurd, magnificent, and childish dreams.

I stress the point at the risk of repetition: Russian Christianity, or more strictly speaking 'the Russian faith,' admitted no 'secularised' civilisation or morality because it was a religion of the Beyond and not of this world. Its development, that is to say, is to be found in the transcendental world, and not at all in the world of tangible realities. For the Russian true life only began in Heaven—in the eschatological Kingdom in the absolute sense of the world. Until then—in other words while he awaited the glorious and blessed possession of God—it was his duty to see that, when his body rose again, it was not heavily earth-bound, but ethereal and spiritualised. Such a state could only be attained by contempt for earthly pleasures and possessions, by indifference in regard to the acquisitions of material civilisation, by non-obedience to laws and duties imposed by constraint.

This way of envisaging earthly existence and of preparing for that of the Beyond was instilled into the Russian people by numerous *startsy*, who, I repeat, were

[1] The supreme authority of the Tsar does not come into the argument here. The Tsar for the mass of his people was the anointed of the Lord.

at all times the natural-born guides of the Russians, for the simple reason that their teaching was nothing more than a friendly talk, and that they imposed no very complicated obligations, but merely multiple genuflexions and prayers,[1] and no constraints whatever, beyond love of one's neighbour. Being, in short, of a very Oriental turn of mind, they communicated to their disciples a similarly Oriental fashion of envisaging the things of this life and relationship with God. But, as Berdiaief would have it, 'The East is nearer than the West to the sources of religion; it is in the East that the Sun rises, and it is only there that God speaks to man face to face without any intermediary.'[2]

Such a very merciful and quite close God was it that Russia for centuries sought up hill and down dale. 'They wander (the pilgrims), they stray from one region to another across old Russia, over the forests and the plains, driven by the winds of the steppes. And everybody sings—the old plain chant of the Bulgarian Church. . . . They tell the history of Lazarus, the man of sores, of Alexis, the man of God, who in his thirst for beggary and martyrdom left his father's house to go—who knows whither?'[3]

'Here below we are all pilgrims without hearth or home,' continues N. Berdiaief. 'It is for the Future City that we hunger and thirst. Spiritual vagabondage is one of the most striking features of the national character. It corresponds perfectly to what one may call 'the Russian idea.' The type of pilgrim born of this people is one of the most remarkable human types

[1] Thus Serafim of Sarov, the celebrated hermit who was canonised by express order of Nicholas II, prescribed to his visitors three *Paters*, three *Aves*, and a *Credo* morning and evening, and during the day frequent appeals to the Saviour and His Holy Mother: 'Forgive me, a sinner!' (*Pomilouyi mia grechnago*). Certain vocal prayers were to be repeated from 12 to 100 times a day.

[2] N. Berdiaief, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[3] Ivan Bounine, *Bouche Close* (Tr. Maurice), Paris, 1922.

that this world has produced.[1] But we have also pilgrims who belong to the aristocracy of birth and talent. All Russian thinkers and writers are pilgrims in search of Divine Truth. Russian vagabondage is the counterpart of our indifference to the things of this world. It is the antipodes of the bourgeois spirit.'[2]

But we must not imagine that this vagabondage was the manifestation of a constant and immutable condition of the soul of Russia. In reality it was only one of its aspects, reflecting the disarray, profound but undefined and unconscious, in which that soul moved, and at the same time its real thirst for the Heavenly Jerusalem. On the other hand, if 'life for the Russian is drab-coloured, and only begins to shine at the approach of death,' as the mystical writers of his country affirm (Rozanov), this is frequently due to lassitude, even physical lassitude, and to his incapacity for limiting and adapting himself to his surroundings, as well as to an aspiration towards the Beyond dictated by religious feeling.

In short, we must not concentrate on this or that attribute of the Russian to form an idea of his psychology. We must seek it in the history, the geography, and the climate of his country. Everything is extreme, chaotic, and accidental in the mixture of races from which the Russian is born, in his climate, in the evolution of his history, and in the structure of his soil. Engaged in continual struggle against hostile conditions, against a rigorous climate, against an oppressive power, and deprived for centuries of any firm moral or religious direction, the Russian has disrupted his soul, and having torn it to pieces he finds it impossible to put them together again.

Therein lies all his tragedy—the tragedy of ceaseless conflict between the disjointed parts of his soul. It is in order to endure this conflict in his innermost being

[1] See Note A at end of this chapter.
[2] N. Berdiaief, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

that he continually seeks a powerful distraction or stimulant, which he finds sometimes in suffering and mortification, sometimes in blasphemy and crime, and sometimes in complete renunciation of self. From this arises that urge to movement which is liable to seize him at any moment and send him on a pilgrimage across the immensity of a country of which he does not know the limits. But what exactly does he seek? The Celestial City? Yes; but that Celestial City is called the peace of the soul.

Notes

A. The most interesting class of these pilgrims, 'men of God' as they are called in Russia, until recent times was that of the *iourodivye*. The *iourodstvo o Khriste* or *iourodstvo Krista radi*, that is the 'madness for Christ,' designated that kind of ecstasy which consisted in singing like an idiot and passing for a fool, in exposing oneself to mockery, insults and blows for the love of the Lord, in order to become acceptable to Him and make sure of eternal life. The *iourodstvo* was based principally upon certain phrases and verses of the Epistles of Saint Paul. The Apostle Paul spoke of the 'madness of the Cross,' and in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 18) he wrote: 'If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world let him become a fool that he may be wise.'

The 'madness for Christ' had its birth in the Hellenic East in the first centuries of Christianity (in Greece the *iourdivye* were called *salos;* cf. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period*, Boston, 1870); but it found its most favourable soil in Russia, probably because of the 'extremist' tendency of the Russian spirit in matters of religion as in everything else. During the pre-Mongol period of Russian history, however, the number of 'innocents' (in the country of Kiev they were called *pokhabe* and their actions *pokhabstvo*, that is 'impudent' and 'impudence') was fairly small. They

were recruited principally among the monks. It was only from the fourteenth century that their number began to grow, and that they were able to attract to themselves the esteem and consideration of the people and the goodwill of the Church, which beatified and even canonised some among them. (Goloubinsky, *Istoria kanonizazii svaitykh y rousskoi tserkvi*, Moscow, 1903.) It may be recalled that popular devotion to a *iourod* called Basil (Vassilyi) led to the dedication to him of one of the most remarkable churches of Russia, Vassilyi Blagennyi in Moscow.

Most of the Russian *iourods* contented themselves in general with extravagances and eccentricities—going about stark naked or in bizarre costumes, imitating the cries of animals, speaking only words without sense, passing themselves off as deaf and dumb, eating dung, sleeping with lost dogs, etc. But there were some of them—such as Nicholas Salos, who stood up to Ivan the Terrible—who, regarding themselves as the mouthpieces of the popular conscience, spent their time in telling unpleasant truths to the Tsars and their counsellors, or in stirring up the crowd during famine against profiteers and exploiters of the poor.

In the eighteenth century, in the time of Peter the Great and his immediate successors, the voluntary 'innocents' lost all their prestige in high places and in society. They had to descend to smaller fry and immerse themselves in the mass of the people. But in the following century they raised their heads again. Alexander I and Nicholas I, autocrats and anointed of the Lord as they might be, were on familiar terms with some of them. The rule of the Russian Tsars did not end without the appearance at the Court of Nicholas II of authentic *iourods*: a certain monk Anthony and a frightful dwarf, called Mitia Kouliaba, who would only utter inarticulate bellows which another member of the troupe pretended to interpret.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RUIN OF THE 'THIRD ROME'

I

WE have seen in the preceding chapter what conception of their *rôle* as heads of the national Church and defenders of the true faith was held by the Emperors of Russia, heirs of Peter the Great.[1] To Paul I or his son Nicholas, for example, this *rôle* was equivalent to priesthood. This point of view they suggested to, or imposed upon, their subjects, who thus came to regard the Orthodox Tsar as a new manifestation of God and his power as a kind of religious ministry. Since this was the case, it is legitimate to affirm that the Russian Revolution was an immense catastrophe for Orthodoxy Its ultimate reactions, of course, remain to be disclosed; but, as I shall endeavour to show, it has already produced a complete subversion in the internal life of the Church.

When the Revolution of the month of March, 1917,

[1] Although the Byzantine idea of the defence of the Orthodox faith had specially in view the struggle against the infidels, it acquired in Russia in the course of centuries an entirely different application, for it was against the Roman Catholics and the Protestants that the heads of the Orthodox Church directed their efforts. After the first partition of Poland, for example, Catherine II forcibly compelled more than a million Polono-Lithuanians to change from the Roman to the Orthodox obedience. Nicholas I, at the Synod of Plock (1839), as we have already seen, decreed the conversion of two million Uniates. In the course of the nineteenth century the Protestants of the Baltic provinces were the object of regular persecution. Forced conversion to the official religion was not abandoned even in the twentieth century. During the brief occupation of Eastern Galicia by the Russian armies in the Great War the Tsarist authorities forcibly closed many churches belonging to the Ruthenian Uniates, whom they regarded as their worst enemies.

dethroned the Tsar, the Russian Church found itself by the mere fact practically decapitated. To meet the very serious consequences of this blow some high dignitaries of the Church and a considerable number of representatives of the laity assembled in Moscow in solemn council[1] towards the end of the same year. This *sobor* re-established the Patriarchate suppressed by Peter the Great, and for the management of administrative affairs added to it a Synod composed of Metropolitans and Bishops and a Superior Ecclesiastical Council, composed partly of priests and partly of laymen, the former elected by the clergy and the latter by the parishioners.

The choice of the *sobor* for the occupant of the re-established Patriarchal chair finally fell upon the Bishop Tikhon, though a majority of the voters had at first pronounced in favour of Anthony, Metropolitan of Kiev. For reasons which are still unknown this vote was not carried into effect, and resort was made to *drawing of lots* among the candidates present, which from the canonical point of view was entirely irregular. The reign of the Patriarch Tikhon was of relatively short duration, but it was very rich in incidents of all kinds.

Elected within a few weeks of the Bolshevist *coup d'état* (November 21, 1917), he was deposed by a 'Red'

[1] Councils of this kind were very numerous in the Russia of former times. But, as in the case of the primitive Œcumenical Councils, they were composed exclusively of Bishops. No layman, whatever his degree of learning or piety, was entitled to take part in them. As a rule, simple priests and deacons were similarly excluded. The participation of the laity and the lower clergy in the councils of the Russian Church was an innovation of the nineteenth century, when, under the influence of Slavophile doctrines, energetically maintained and propagated by Aksakov, Khomiakov, and Samarine, the view developed that all great religious questions ought to be decided 'counselwise' (*soborno*), for the reason that the Russian Church was a body composed not merely of ecclesiastics, but also of all the lay faithful, every one of whom had his rights and duties *vis-à-vis* the Church. In spite of this tendency towards reposing the Russian Church upon purely democratic bases, however, no other Church in the course of history has so stubbornly defended the purest monarchical principles. But that is only one of the numerous contradictions in Russian 'reality.'

Council on May 30, 1923.[1] The pretext which was invoked for dismissing Tikhon from his high office was that the Patriarch had omitted to convoke a council in 1921, as he should have done according to the canons laid down in 1917, which limited the Patriarch's term of office to three years. The fact was ignored, probably on purpose, that in 1921 the very idea of assembling a council at Moscow would not have occurred to anyone. What further embittered the situation was that when Tikhon was first invited, and then summoned, to appear before this council he refused to do so. The assembly accordingly condemned him to deposition and sent a delegation to inform him of his sentence. The Patriarch received the delegates, but accepted their notification only under protest, and continued to govern the faithful.

The situation appeared inextricable. In order to clear it up the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople was approached and invited to act as arbiter, though the partisans of Tikhon declared that he had no right to intervene in Russia. The Patriarch of Constantinople, however, drew attention to the fact that the Council of 1917 had similarly addressed itself to him to sanction the restoration of the Moscow Patriarchate. Appointed arbiter in the dispute which had arisen between Tikhon and the Council, Gregory VII, through the medium of his representative in Moscow, the Archimandrite Basil Dimopoulo, invited Tikhon to abdicate and at least temporarily to suppress the Patriarchate, 'instituted prematurely in very extraordinary circumstances by the Council of 1917, in which politics had too much influence upon religious decisions.' Constantinople expressed the hope that there could shortly be convoked a new Russian council, whose deliberations would be free and indepen-

[1] All the Bishops who took part in this Red Council were validly consecrated (a considerable number were Bishops of the old *régime*), and the clergy were more numerous than at the pan-Russian council which elected Tikhon in 1917.

dent of politics." But Tikhon paid no attention to the counsels of Gregory and, supported by the majority of the faithful, continued to control his flock as if nothing had happened.

This equivocal position in which the Patriarchate in Russia now found itself, however, encouraged the views of certain ecclesiastics who from the earliest moment had rallied to the new *régime*. They proceeded to create, on the fringes of the Patriarchal Church—which was thoroughly suspect in the eyes of the Bolshevists because it was too deeply rooted for their taste in the *régime* which had been abolished—Churches, or more strictly speaking confessions, of their own, which were more or less closely akin in spirit to Communist doctrines.

A priest, Krasnitzky, and an Archbishop of the old *régime*, Antonin—a former *protégé* of certain Grand Dukes and an eloquent member of the Duma of the Empire—created respectively 'The Living Church' and 'The Church of the Renaissance'; the Bishop Joannice created 'The Workers' Free Church,' and so on. In the Ukraine, under the auspices of a certain Lipkivsky, there arose another dissidence called 'Pan-Ukrainian Orthodoxy,' which gave a religious outlet to the nationalist aspirations of the Little Russian people, directed as much against Moscow as against their neighbour to the West, Poland. But before speaking about this strange personage and his 'Church' we must say something about the Ukraine itself.

'Little Russia,' as this part of the old Empire of the Tsars was formerly called,[1] had always aspired to 'self-government,' if not to complete separation from the Muscovite (*moscal*). Land of promise for all sorts of prophets, adventurers, and 'self-made men,' it had for several centuries groaned under foreign yoke (Mongol, Polono-Lithuanian, Muscovite) and served as the battle-

[1] This name of 'Little Russia' (*Minoris Russiae*) was employed for the first time in a document of the fourteenth century.

ground of endless struggles between Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Moslems, Protestants, and Uniates. Under the influence sometimes of one and sometimes of another, the Ukrainians had seen a considerable number of their people, and these not the lowest in the land, change their religion according to political necessities, or their nationality according to personal interests.[1] The effect of all this was that the Ukraine never succeeded in developing a highly individualised character—so little, indeed, that when the day finally came in 1917 when it had the chance to seize a certain liberty of action, it was found that the great majority of its upper class were incapable of expressing themselves in the national language, which had remained on the level of a dialect.

Such, then, was the soil in which was born the 'Pan-Ukrainian Orthodoxy' of the archpriest Lipkivsky, an apostate from the Russian Orthodox Church.[2] What was the basis on which this 'Orthodoxy' rested? 'On the principles of autonomy, of administration by council, and of the will of the Ukrainian people,' its founder declared. Nowhere is the idea of the sovereignty of the people so deep-rooted as in Russia. It assumed there in the course of centuries a tinge of mysticism, and thereby soon became part of the body of Russian 'beliefs.' This worship of popular wisdom—obviously an inheritance from far-off ancestors, those primitive Slavs who regulated all their political, administrative, and domestic affairs according to the will of the majority of the moment—was oddly reinforced in the course of the nineteenth century by the circular declaration of the Patriarchs of the East in 1848, to which reference has already been made.

It was on the strength of this definition that Lipkivsky

[1] Hrusvevsky, *Istoria Oukraini-Rousi* (History of Ukrainian Russia), Lwow, 1899–1900.

[2] This Lipkivsky was during the war one of the most devoted collaborators of the Metropolitan Anthony in the organisation of the 'Christian penetration' of Eastern Galicia.

and the other organisers of 'Pan-Ukrainian' Orthodoxy proceeded to the constitution of their Church. With remarkable audacity they demanded from the people Apostolic succession, episcopal consecration, and the creation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Assembled in council, the representatives of the Ukrainian people, on October 21, 1921, unanimously elected Lipkivsky 'Metropolitan of Kiev and the whole Ukraine.' But this proceeding lacked the authority of consecration. That ceremony was thus performed (I quote the description of the interested party himself): '. . . On Sunday, the 23rd, I was consecrated. At this consecration thirty priests and the whole council took part. The Cathedral of Saint Sophia could not hold all the people. At the moment of consecration one could feel a spirit of enthusiasm sweep through all that multitude. For this consecration all the members of the council and all the people present in the cathedral laid their hands upon one another's shoulders; those who were in the front row laid their hands on the shoulders of the priests, and these laid their hands on me. On Monday, the 24th, the council chose seventeen candidates for the episcopate. Twelve were consecrated by the Rada for the different dioceses of the Ukraine in the traditional manner. . . .'[1]

But, while the various hierarchies which I have mentioned, and which had nothing in common among them except common hostility to Tikhon, were being more or less laboriously created, Tikhon himself, after being released by the Bolshevists—who had imprisoned him on the flimsy pretext of 'counter-revolutionary tendencies'—entered a nursing home in Moscow to undergo treatment which his precarious state of health rendered necessary. There, almost on the eve of his death (he died of angina pectoris during the night of the 7th or

[1] *Letter of Vassili Lipkivsky to the deacon Paul Karsonnovsky* (quoted by P. Volkonsky and Mgr d'Herbigny in *Dossier americain de l'Orthodoxie panukrainienne*, pp. 157–58); 'Orientalia Christiana,' No. 4, 1923.

8th of April, 1925), he drew up a sort of 'will' in which he confided the supreme government of the faithful and the charge of 'guardian of the Patriarchal throne' (*mestoblustitel patriarchago prestola*) to the Metropolitan Peter Krontitzky.

This choice was a matter of general surprise among the faithful and alarmed ecclesiastical circles. 'See,' wrote the Metropolitan Anthony, chief of the hierarchy abroad, 'into what hands Russian Orthodoxy and the memory of the Patriarch Tikhon have fallen.' Peter Krontitzky was especially reproached with having taken orders very belatedly, after the Revolution, and after being a Red official in the Ministry of Public Worship under Kerensky, and with having then risen with scandalous rapidity from a junior lay position to the highest dignity of the hierarchy. To this cause of animosity towards him on the part of a section of the faithful was added the fact that, since the Patriarch Tikhon might be regarded as having been canonically deposed by the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, he had no right to appoint a successor to govern the Church of Russia.

It is probable that the discussions aroused by the designation of the Metropolitan Peter to the dangerous but coveted position of 'guardian of the Patriarchal throne' would not have died down so quickly if the Bolshevist authorities had not taken a hand in the question in their own way. On some pretext they arrested the Metropolitan Peter in 1926 and imprisoned him in the Boutyrki prison in Moscow. After some months of interregnum and complete anarchy a successor, or rather a deputy, for him was found in the person of Sergius, Metropolitan of Nijni-Novgorod. Sergius, who had been Bishop since 1901, had gone over from the Tikhonian or Patriarchal hierarchy to the 'Living Church' when the latter seemed to be protected by the Soviet power, and then returned to Tikhon when he had grounds for hoping that he would become his more or less direct successor.

But the Soviets, who had decided to be done with the Patriarchate and with all that its authority evoked, summoned the Metropolitan Sergius to Moscow and, on his refusal to excommunicate all the Russian clergy who had gone abroad, imprisoned him in his turn. Sergius, however, had taken the precaution, long before his arrest, of nominating his successors as 'substitutes for the guardian of the Patriarchal throne.' One after another these substitutes were arrested in their turn, despite the fact that some of them, such as the Archbishop Seraphin, took all possible precautions to avoid attracting the attention of the Soviet authorities to them. Seraphin instructed his Bishops and his flock: 'Above all reduce your correspondence with me to the minimum, visit me as seldom as possible, and try to settle affairs yourselves without asking my advice or intervention.'[1]

As if by a miracle, however, it happened that Sergius was released, and resumed his position as 'guardian of the Patriarchal throne.' Obviously he had bought his liberty by making 'concessions to the *régime*,' or, more bluntly, by grovelling before the Soviet authorities. This became clear when he was shortly to be found ordering public prayers for the Soviet Government at all Masses, and denouncing to the authorities without mercy those of his subordinates who refused to obey his orders. It became still more clear when, through the medium of foreign journalists, he proclaimed to the world that 'there has never been any persecution of religion in the U.S.S.R.' This was at the very moment when ikons were being burned by the thousand, when churches were being dynamited, and the servants of religion were being ignominiously rounded up throughout Russian territory.

The reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury's protest against religious persecution in Russia, obviously dictated by the police (and in what a style !), but to which Sergius gave the authority of his signature, further showed to

[1] *Voskresnoie Tchenie* (The Sunday Reader), February 9, 1927.

what a degree he had become the slave of a political *régime* which had in fact shown itself to be the enemy not only of all religion but even of all religious ideas. After such declarations, about which the least that can be said is that they were gross untruths, the Metropolitan Eulogius of Paris, hitherto a staunch supporter of Sergius —in order that he might better combat the other Russian Metropolitan of the emigration, Anthony, who resides at Belgrade—found himself compelled immediately to disavow his hierarchical head.

But what confusion for the clergy and the faithful all this involved, and what a blow was dealt to the prestige of the hierarchy and the Patriarchal Church, which only yesterday was regarded as the leading spiritual authority of the country! It does not appear, however, that its present directors realise this, for, as if deliberately, they multiply blunders and mistakes. What other words can one find to describe such facts as the following? A certain Gregory Fedotof, ordained deacon in 1922 by the Bishop Seraphin and bishop by the Patriarch Tikhon himself, and then in 1928 reordained priest by the Bishop Alexis Boni, was in December 1929 reordained deacon and priest by the Bishop Macarius.

At the seat of the Metropolitan Sergius, in the eparchy of Nijni-Novgorod, the following case occurred: the priest of the Church of the Saviour, Stephen Ougrioumof, was at one time a member of the 'Church of the Renaissance.' Then, by the sacrament of confirmation, he joined the sect of '*Beglopopovtzy*' (unordained priests). Later he became priest of the parish of Spassky. Next he went over to the *Starovery* ('old believers'), but was not regarded by them as worthy of re-ordination. All this has not prevented the Metropolitan Sergius from putting him at the head of the best parish in Nijni-Novgorod. Here is another fact: by order of Sergius, the Bishop Job of Stalingrad not only re-ordained the clergy, but caused to be re-baptised children who had

already been baptised by members of the Synodal Church.[1]

But the decadence of the Tikhonian or Patriarchal Church, now almost completely consummated (at least within the U.S.S.R.), thanks to the rivalry of its Bishops and the mutual accusations of its members, has done nothing to augment the prestige, the popularity, or the prosperity of the rival hierarchies. The 'Living Church' is in its agony, if it is not already quite dead, and its founder, the priest Krasnitzky, is recognised to be an unbeliever of no worth or dignity. The ex-Metropolitan Antonin, the inspirer of the 'Church of the Renaissance,' has no more prestige or influence. His 'Church' recently consisted of one Bishop, five priests, and two or three hundred faithful, recruited principally among small shopkeepers and students in search of religious sensations. For Antonin, having revised the liturgy on his own account, has introduced into it lewd interpretations, which he calls 'religious feelings.' To deepen religious emotion he only celebrates 'the liturgy of the Supper' in the evening, in almost complete darkness. In short, Antonin—'this street Arab,' as a high dignitary of the Patriarchal Church once called him, 'this buffoon who specialises in religious questions, this clown'—no longer represents anything in Russia, any more than his 'Church,' which has practically ceased to exist.

'The Workers' Free Church' of the Bishop Joannice is long since dead. As to the 'Pan-Ukrainian Orthodoxy,' created by the notorious Lipkivsky, which I have described above, it has quite recently been liquidated by its last representative, a certain Metropolitan Grouchevsky, who, we have since been informed through the medium of the Russian Press, proposes to renounce not only the episcopate and the priesthood, but all religion. The disappearance of this hierarchy and this pseudo-Church cannot be regarded as a misfortune. They did

[1] *Vestnik sviateichago synoda* (The Messenger of the Holy Synod), Nos. 5-6.

nothing but deceive the ignorant and foolish, and were nothing but the stamping-ground of some ambitious men and many impostors.

But what is to be said of the new hierarchy and the new Church which, having recently risen to the apex of the Russian religious edifice, contrive to preserve at least the authority of the Soviet Government to exist, if not its sympathy? I refer to the Church which was once called 'Synodal' and was latterly called 'The Church of the Renewers,' but which now, after the disappearance of the dissidence founded by the ex-Metropolitan Antonin, is known as 'The New Church of the Renaissance.' Its hierarchy calls itself simply 'Orthodox,' and compares itself with the Concordat Bishops of 1801: neither refractory like the Tikhonians, nor subservient like the Reds, but solely sanctioned by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as the Concordat Bishops were by Pius VII.

It does not oppose the existing *régime*, but combats its irreligious propaganda. Its real intellectual guide is the Metropolitan Alexander Vvedensky, vice-president of the Synod of the Church, which is presided over by the venerable Metropolitan Benjamin, and whose other members are the Archbishops Adamof and Krassotkin. But let us stop a moment and contemplate the figure, interesting from many points of view, of the Metropolitan Vvedensky. He is still a comparatively young man, scarcely past his fortieth year, who was a brilliant theological student. A Professor of Christian Apologetics, he was not a monk, but a secular priest, and married, when his success as a preacher marked him out for consecration as Bishop. In order that his consecration should not be anti-canonical his partisans succeeded in having the canons modified by the Council of 1923. It was decided that a married priest could be raised to the Episcopate even without monastic profession (which until then had been obligatory) if he were otherwise worthy.

Whether it be thanks to the qualities of the Metro-

politan Vvedensky—his great learning, his energy, and his gift of words—or for some other reason, the fact remains that the Synodal Church at present enjoys a certain tolerance on the part of the Soviet authorities. Its organ, the *Messenger* (*Vestnik*) *of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Churches of Soviet Russia*, is the only paper which from time to time is permitted to publish religious manifestos. In its issue No. 5–6, 1929, for example, the following note was printed :

'From the 9th to the 12th of February Leningrad was paid a visit by the representative of the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Archimandrite Basil Dimoupoulo, accompanied by Professor S. M. Zarine, secretary of the Holy Synod. The Archimandrite attracted crowds of the faithful to the churches in the centre of Leningrad. Particular attention was paid to the declaration which he made in the Church of the Presentation. Standing before the episcopal throne, and speaking to a crowded congregation, the Archimandrite Basil said : "I, *and through me all the Eastern Patriarchs*, are conscious of the movement of the Orthodox Church guided by the Holy Synod of Russia towards the peace and union of all. The enemies of this union are *sowers of trouble* who make discord in the Church. They will have to answer to the Council which all the Orthodox Churches are now preparing."'

It will naturally be asked how it happens that, while on the one hand the Government of the Soviets pushes its anti-religious policy to extremes, on the other hand it tolerates the presence of a religious hierarchy which is obviously very active. The answer is that this is a tactical move on the part of the Government, made with the object of putting up a smoke-screen. The existence of the Synodal Church enables it to mislead ill-informed or naive opinion abroad into the belief that the practice of religion is entirely free in Russia, and that, if churches

are destroyed, ikons burned, and the shrines of the Holy Thaumaturges defiled, all this is done not on the initiative of the authorities, but in accordance with the wishes of the people.

The strategy of the anti-religious campaign recently undertaken by the Government of the Soviets—as I shall show in more detail later—consists in influencing the population to anti-religious acts and in imposing irreligion upon them by all possible means, rather than in directly prohibiting the practice of religion. Its watchword is: 'Not martyrs, but apostates.' To close churches officially, to dissolve religious communities, to lay violent hands on the treasure of the vestries—all this is easy enough to decree when the reins of government are firmly held.

But it is always a sufficiently scandalous proceeding, which is liable in the end to lead to all sorts of difficulties. Nothing of the kind, however, is to be feared if these things are done by the people themselves, after they have been successfully persuaded and encouraged to burn what only yesterday they adored. This and nothing else is the course of action adopted by the Government of the Soviets in its anti-religious policy.

II

The collapse, after the fall of Tsarism, of the magnificent edifice which for centuries had been the National Church in Russia moved the Russian dioceses abroad, as well as those of the provinces which were detached from the Empire by virtue of various treaties and absorbed in the States newly created by the peace (Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania), to detach themselves one after another from 1918 onwards from the Mother Church and to seek stability and prosperity in complete autonomy.

If I am not mistaken the Orthodox dioceses of Canada and the United States, with the Metropolitan Plato at their head, were the first to set this example. It was

soon followed by the Orthodox Church of Poland,[1] and then by those of South America, Finland, and the young Baltic Republics. The constitution and life of the autonomous Orthodox Churches of the two Americas soon gave rise to not a few criticisms. Little by little, almost everywhere, the old ecclesiastical *cadres* dating from Tsarist times were invaded by elements whose origin was suspect and whose imposture was in many cases obvious.

Among the Orthodox of Canada, for example, there arose in 1924 a 'Pan-Ukrainian' pseudo-Bishop who kidnapped from the 'Moscovites' tens of thousands of the faithful, and even succeeded in getting the Bishop Apollinarius killed by his former flock. In New York the Metropolitan Plato suddenly found himself opposed by a combination consisting of 'Red' ecclesiastics sent from Russia and of the former Orthodox Archbishop of the United States, the Metropolitan Evdokin himself. About these personages there hovered for some time an impostor by name Torok, a Hungarian Jew converted to Orthodoxy, who assumed the title of 'Orthodox Bishop of the Protestants of the Eastern Rite in the United States.'

A similarly extreme disorder reigned in South America. At Buenos Ayres Russians and Greeks were at daggers drawn. Montevideo was at least until recently the seat of the Bishop Nicholas Solovei, who, consecrated by two Bishops of the old *régime* who had gone over to Bolshevism, and then sent by the Soviets to the United States, finally returned to the Patriarchal Church. The Synod of the refugee Russian Church in Western Europe,

[1] The very shrewd and energetic Metropolitan Denis, Primate of the Russian-Orthodox Church in Poland, invited the Patriarch Tikhon to recognise the autonomy of his dioceses. The Patriarch, however, refused this request on the ground that it was illegal and anti-canonical. Denis then addressed himself to the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, who granted the desired recognition as 'timely and serviceable to the interests of the Orthodox Church.' (Cf. *Lettre du Patriarcat de Constantinople au Metropolite Denys de Varsovie et de toute la Pologne*, quoted by Mgr M. d'Herbigny in *Orientalia christiana*, Bk. IV, 2, 1925.

presided over by the Metropolitan Anthony, of whom I shall have occasion to speak later, accepted his conversion, but refused to recognise his dignity, on the allegedly dogmatic but in fact purely political ground that he had been consecrated by two Bishops who, although themselves canonically instituted, had gone over to the Bolshevist 'Living Church.' Nicholas Solovei hereupon withdrew from the Synod of the Metropolitan Anthony and organised his own Synod at Montevideo, 'the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church.' The secretary of this Synod was, and possibly still is, a former cavalry officer, ordained priest.

Such in outline was the recent situation in the Russian dioceses across the Atlantic. In Europe the situation appears to have been better, though internal discords and personal jealousies have not been lacking, as we shall see in a moment. The Russian Church of Poland seems to be the most prosperous, the best governed, and the least disturbed. It has been officially recognised by the Polish Government and invested by it with the high responsibility of supervising the Orthodox population of the country. There is nothing outstanding which calls for remark in the position of the Russian dioceses of Finland and the Baltic States; but on the other hand there is much to be said about the Russian refugee Church in Southern and Western Europe.

III

The refugee Russian Orthodox Church in Western Europe is governed, in principle, by a Synod of Bishops whose seat is Karlovtsy, in Jugo-Slavia. It has at its head the Metropolitan Anthony Krapovitzky, the unlucky candidate in 1917 for the restored throne of Patriarch of Russia. Mgr Anthony, neither at the time when he was Metropolitan of Kiev nor during his subsequent exile, has ever disguised his opinion about the inevitable union

between Orthodoxy and the autocracy confided by God to the Romanoffs. Accordingly he has publicly and officially approved the candidature of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch, ex-Generalissimo of the Russian Armies during the war, to the autocratic throne of All the Russias.

But what can be said aloud abroad and applauded by the *émigrés*, or at least a section of them, cannot even be whispered in the U.S.S.R. The declaration by one of the most eminent of the hierarchs of the Russian Church that Orthodoxy identified itself with autocratic Tsarism made the Church gravely suspect from the outset in the eyes of the new *régime*, born of the Revolution. This *régime* refused to make any distinction between the prelates who had gone into exile and those who remained in Russia. It lumped them all together in one sweeping definition as reactionaries and anti-revolutionaries.

In the attempt to shake this conviction, which was firmly embedded in Bolshevist heads, the Patriarch Tikhon was careful to adopt an exclusively religious attitude, and he enjoined all his clergy never to overstep the limits of strict observance of political neutrality. Finally, always with the object of protecting the Church which he governed from the risk of attack, Tikhon solemnly, publicly, and repeatedly dissociated himself from the prelates of the emigration. He went even further. He wrote a long memorandum, which was published immediately after his death, on April 8, 1925—a document which was therefore regarded as expressing the Patriarch's last wishes. In it, after a strong attack on the Catholics, he recommended the Orthodox to submit respectfully to Soviet authority, and then dealt at length with the errors of the *émigré* Bishops, annulling all their acts and summoning them to appear before a tribunal which should be set up as soon as possible by a Council of Russian Orthodoxy.

When this document of Tikhon became known abroad,

the *émigré* Bishops, with the Metropolitan Anthony at their head, hastened to declare that it was apocryphal. Mgr Anthony refused to accept as his hierarchical head the Metropolitan Peter to whom the Patriarch Tikhon had entrusted the supreme government of the faithful and the charge of 'guardian of the Patriarchal throne.' It was only under the pressure of several Bishops of the emigration and of a section of his flock that, after five months of hesitation, he finally recognised the title of the Metropolitan Peter.

After the death of the latter, however, he broke off all relations with the Mother Church, proclaiming that Orthodoxy was ceasing to exist in Russia, and that, since its only refuge was the *émigré* hierarchy, it was necessary to contemplate giving this hierarchy complete autonomy by setting at its head an independent Patriarch, to be chosen from among the exiles. He did not add that this Patriarch ought to be Anthony himself, but his partisans said it for him.[1]

The ambitions of Mgr Anthony and his attitude towards the Church as well as towards certain candidates for the Russian Imperial throne, however, have provoked a strong reaction on the part of another high dignitary of the Russian *émigré* hierarchy, the Metropolitan Eulogius. Mgr Eulogius, whose episcopal seat is Paris, has no Synod to set against that of Mgr Anthony, but he also has his candidate for the Russian Imperial throne —the Grand Duke Cyril, first cousin of the unfortunate Nicholas II, and therefore a much more serious candidate than was that of the Metropolitan Anthony, the late

[1] It is probable that, if this idea should some day be carried into effect, the Patriarch of the emigration would in fact be the Metropolitan Anthony —in default of some surprise move, which is always possible, for political passions would certainly play a great part in such an election. In any case, such an election, though held under unusual conditions, could not be contested from the canonical point of view; for, we are told, canons 37 and 39 of the complementary council *in Trullo*, assembled by Justinian II, foresaw the case of Bishops being forced to seek refuge abroad, and for that reason having to govern their dioceses from a distance.

Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch. Moreover, in order to avoid submission to the authority of Anthony and his Synod in Serbia, Eulogius recognised as his heads the different 'guardians' and 'substitutes for guardian of the Patriarchal throne' who succeeded one another in Russia —though, as we have seen above, he had finally to repudiate the last of them, Sergius.

The discord between Anthony and Eulogius, which has been publicly proclaimed on various occasions and underlined in writings often virulent in tone, has had, as might be expected, an unfortunate repercussion upon the mass of the faithful. The flocks of the two Metropolitans are divided into two camps so hostile to each other that those of the Orthodox who take the side of Anthony refuse to frequent the Metropolitan Church in the Rue Daru in Paris, which is the 'fief' of the Metropolitan Eulogius, and worship 'among themselves' in hutments, cinemas, and garages converted into churches and chapels.

But there is one point, or even two, upon which Anthony, Eulogius, the Russian prelates who have remained in their country, and a large number of their flock are entirely in accord: first, in considering the Roman Catholic Church as their worst enemy, and next, in seeking a complete understanding with the confessions born of the Reformation. There is nothing extraordinary in this in itself, for there has always existed a certain affinity between Protestantism and Orthodoxy. Dostoievsky was ready to ally himself with Protestant Germany in order to triumph over Catholicism; and there are not a few highly placed Russian ecclesiastics who quite seriously believe that the Anglican and Protestant world will soon prostrate itself before the Orthodox and petition the Patriarch of Moscow or his representative for baptism and episcopal consecration.

At the same time it does appear in the eyes of many practising Russians displeasing and indeed humiliating

that some Russian prelates seem to lose their sense of dignity as soon as they find themselves in the presence of Anglicans or Lutherans. For example, the Metropolitan Eulogius, carried away by his zeal for a religious understanding between Russia and England, not only knelt before the Holy Sacrament exposed for the occasion in Protestant churches, but also thought fit, in an address delivered at one of the public sessions of the famous Anglo-Orthodox Council, to assert that 'the day when Russia becomes great and prosperous, and has a new Patriarch, he will make it his duty to invite to Moscow the Archbishop of Canterbury with all his clergy and lay representatives of the Anglican Church. He will present them to the Russian people, and he will say: "Here are our dearly beloved brethren; we love them very dearly; we are one with them in love and faith." And the Russians will reply *Amen*, and our union will be sealed.'[1]

The delicate position in which the Russian dioceses abroad find themselves from every point of view, not to speak of the moral and material distress of the Russian Orthodox Church in general, has not affected more than a small section of Russian 'society.' It does not follow from that, of course, that the majority are atheists or what are commonly called 'free thinkers.' But Russian piety is often content with a sort of Evangelical Christianity to which the Church, considered as an institution established for safeguarding Christian canons and dogmas, is of no service, or at least has only an external and, one might say, emotional utility.

Accordingly no act contrary to the canons of the Church, no false interpretation of Christian dogma, can move or shock the people who profess such a piety, nor can they find in themselves the conviction and the force necessary to make their own the destinies of the Church to which they belong, at least by baptism. This indifference is to be explained not so much by the lymphatic

[1] *Church Times*, June 17, 1925.

character as the abysmal ignorance of the mass of even educated Russian laity. That is one of the consequences of the policy of suppression and constraint which for centuries was pursued by the Tsarist Government.[1]

One might imagine that circles so ill-equipped to concern themselves with religious questions would refrain from passing judgment on the beliefs of others. But logic is far from being always in high favour among the Russians. So we may observe a touching unanimity between those of the Orthodox (they are not very numerous) who have devoted themselves to the study of theological questions and all the others, the devout as well as the indifferent, in accusing Catholicism of the worst misdeeds and of seeing in Rome the enemy to be avoided at all costs, except for combating her. To be sure a large number of Orthodox merely repeat the lessons they have learned in their youth. For it was the rule in school instruction, as well as in private conversations between laymen and priests for centuries past, to speak of the 'pride of the Popes,' of the Roman Church 'solely concerned with this world,' and of the 'Latin heresy,' which some saw in the doctrine of infallibility, and others, going further back, in a word of the *Credo* or even in the controversy over unleavened bread.[2]

This kink which has been made in the Russian soul

[1] This ignorance of the best educated Russians about everything that has to do with the religion which they profess, at least officially, has been emphasised on many occasions by Russian ecclesiastics themselves. Quite recently the Metropolitan Anthony reproached his compatriots for such ignorance in the journal *Tserkovnya Viedomoski* (1/14–15/28 March, 1923), which is the official organ of the Synod over which he presides in Serbia. 'Three-quarters of the Russian *intelligentsia*,' he declared, 'do not even know that the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles are part of the Bible.'

[2] One of the oldest grievances of Orthodox theology against the Roman Church was her abandonment of the usage of preceding the Eucharist by the invocation of the Holy Ghost and the preservation only of the *verba institutionis*. 'What helped to embitter the quarrel,' says a Catholic author (A. Salaville, *Epiclèse Eucharistique*, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Bk. V, 2, col. 262), 'was that in reality it was only an episode in the fight between two civilisations which were disputing over Russia, Western civilisation and Byzantine civilisation.'

over a period of generations prevents many of the '*pravoslavny*' from seeing things as they are. So strong is the influence which their native land and all its traditions exercise over the *émigrés* that their involuntary transplantation to circles foreign to Orthodoxy has not opened the eyes of more than a tiny minority. But their general alienation from the circles in which they live and their lack of knowledge of theological questions do not prevent the Russian *émigrés* from concerning themselves with the great question of the union of the Church —as a rule to answer it in the negative.

In this negation, however, there are degrees, as there are degrees in their ignorance and their prejudice. Naturally philosophers and writers, whose pride it is to have produced a mind as free from prejudice and as clear-sighted as the late Vladimir Solovief[1]—'the Russian Newman' as he is called by some, or 'the Russian Plato' by others—are poles apart from an Orthodox '*barine*' (landed gentleman) nurtured exclusively on the dry sap of official theology. But alongside the ignorant *barine* are ranked obscurantists nevertheless very well versed in Byzantine dialectic and in the subtle science of arranging and interpreting texts to their own advantage. These are the most dangerous, by reason not only of the vehemence of their language, but also of the weapon of clotted erudition which they wield like a club.

They are recruited principally among the neo-Slavophiles and racial nationalists commonly called 'Euro-asians.' They are exclusive in everything—in their preconceived idea of their country, of the grandeur of the religion which they profess, and of the splendour which awaits Russia or rather 'Euro-asia' in the future. With them it is impossible to touch a hair of the head of Orthodoxy. In its defence and in order to secure its final triumph

[1] Solovief always dreamed of a fusion of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. He is believed finally to have become a convert to the latter, but without breaking openly with Orthodoxy.

they are ready to arm and organise Asia against all Europe. In this they resemble the Bolshevists, who in principle are not hostile to them, even though their political and social ideas differ considerably. They have a common enemy—the West. The one wish to subject it to their Pan-Slav canons. The others wish to destroy it by communicating to it, among other things, that virus of complete irreligion with which they have already inoculated the Russian organism.

IV

In 1925 the Bolshevists carefully restored and preserved religious monuments which had an artistic or archæological value, and re-established in their original form the ikons of the Russian Old Masters. But in 1930 they had the foundations of the old monastery of Simonov blown up with dynamite, razed the venerable chapel of Our Lady of Iberia, in Moscow, and turned the celebrated Cathedral of Saint Isaac in Petrograd into an anti-religious museum.

The reason was that in the meantime the rulers of the Soviets had returned to the 'pure' Communist doctrine, which could not compromise with any 'bourgeois prejudices,' among which religion evidently was in their eyes one of the most tenacious. During a certain period they had made the experiment of trying to win the sympathy of the masses by a policy of '*laisser faire, laisser passer*,' which applied to the spiritual as well as the economic sphere. The famous 'NEP' (new economic policy) was only one manifestation of this policy, of which another was a kind of religious tolerance. As a high dignitary of the Government of the Soviets put it in 1925: 'As we now have a new economic policy, so we are also practising a new religious policy. We realise that millions of men, a majority of the Russian people, are closely attached to their religious ideas, and we have decided to close the

direct struggle against these tendencies, so long as they do not serve as a cover for political agitation.'

It was all very well to talk like that in 1925. Afterwards the political see-saw raised to power other men, such as the only too well known Stalin, who were enemies of any tolerance or any compromise. Moreover, it had been clearly seen that neither the 'NEP' nor tolerance availed to rid the people of distrust of the *régime*. They continued to adopt an attitude of passive resistance which, the Bolshevists might well reason, was the fruit of their age-old prejudice, or in other words, of their religious feeling.

In order to break down this resistance, which prevented the Soviets from transforming the Russian people into a plastic material which they could mould at their will, it was necessary to root out of hearts and minds that religion which was the last and most obstinate enemy of all revolutionary ideas. This was the origin of the anti-religious policy which the Bolshevists have pursued for the past two years, and which is regarded by some of their leaders as more important than anything else.

But, as we have seen above, the Government of the Soviets, being unwilling to act by ukase and decree, set itself to demoralise the masses, so that the people themselves should commit anti-religious acts, and in destroying churches and religious objects should also destroy any lingering religious feeling in the depths of their own souls. This was not all. It was necessary that individual or collective apostasy, brought about by the gradual introduction of such methods, should be turned into an arm of atheistic and anti-religious propaganda.

In short, it was necessary that each of those who had denied God should bring others to deny Him in their turn, and this not only by persuasion, but also by anti-religious acts, such as the destruction of the holy images, the profanation of places of worship, insulting treatment

of the servants of God, and so on. The greater and the more monstrous were the offences committed by the people against God, religion, and its servants, the less would they be disposed to go back on their tracks. They would have passed the limit beyond which there is no salvation.

Further, it was necessary to drive into the heads of the people the axiom that religion, speculative as well as practical, was the synthesis of everything most harmful to humanity, to the minds as well as the emotions of individuals, to well-being, to prosperity, to international peace. Religion must be presented as the enemy of man and society, of life and learning, of happiness and progress. These were the principles on which the 'anti-religious campaign' was established, and they were forthwith translated into practice.

In the first place special newspapers were founded which, through the medium of sketches, caricatures, articles, and so on, propagated in the masses disrespect for everything that had to do with God, religion, and the ministers of worship. Among these journals are the *Bezbojnik* (Godless) and the *Antireligionznik*. Then anti-religious films were made, and atheist societies, such as the 'League of Militant Atheists,' were founded. Finally, anti-religious propaganda was extended to the formation of young 'Komsomols' and 'Pionery' (Communist Boy Scouts), and was intensified in the schools, whose courses already included 'practical exercises in the struggle against religion' (profanation of churches, breaking of windows and objects of piety, etc.).

From the outset the schools were regarded by the Soviet authorities as a wonderful field of propaganda. The child is plastic material, extraordinarily receptive to any simply but vigorously expressed idea. He can also take home the ideas which are impressed upon him at school, and influence his parents—or even, if necessary, spy upon them. Finally, with his co-operation impious

masquerades could be organised, burlesque processions which would serve to ridicule religion and its ministers.

During the past two years crowds of children, grotesquely made up as geese, donkeys, monkeys, and especially pigs, but wearing priestly vestments or monks' habits, have been seen walking through the streets of Moscow and other cities, forming part of the anti-religious processions organised by the Soviet authorities on the occasion of the Orthodox Christmas and Easter. Worse still has been seen. The horrible spectacle has been presented of children being brought up in relays to spit upon and otherwise defile the Cross and the ikons in uninterrupted succession throughout Christmas Day, 1929. All this happened in Moscow, Holy of Holies of Orthodoxy, before an enormous crowd of those same Russian people who were formerly hailed by the writers of their country as God's Chosen People.

The present *rôle* of childhood in the Russia of the Soviets is this—to serve as an element in the decomposition of the family and of society by introducing atheism, an extreme rationalism, and an immorality which often borders on dementia. The Soviet Government has devoted itself for some time to reducing children to this abject *rôle*. The school has now become the hot-bed of the propaganda of atheism, as it was formerly of cynicism and immorality. It should be added that as a rule parents, whether from ignorance, stupidity, or weakness, do not react strongly enough, or even at all, against the teaching which is given their children in the schools and the sporting and other associations to which they are compelled to belong under severe penalties.

Let us now consider the *rôle* which is imposed upon adults in the fight against God and religion. This *rôle* consists chiefly in the commission of irreligious acts, which are very often suggested by childhood propaganda, but are also committed under threat of punishments of various kinds—withdrawal of food cards, expulsion from

lodgings, or deprivation of all privileges and rights in the material and intellectual spheres. The iconoclasts, blasphemers, and profaners are principally recruited from among the factory workers and the Communist rural co-operative societies (*kolkhoz*).

It goes without saying that, in a Communist country, all anti-religious and blasphemous acts are committed in common, or at least planned in common at meetings which profess to be spontaneous, but are in fact surreptitiously organised by emissaries of the Government. The demands, petitions, and votes of these meetings are always carefully minuted and published in the newspapers. After that the Government inspires the carrying of the decisions into effect, or more frequently leaves it to the initiative of the participants themselves. These tactics enable it to declare that it has personally nothing to do with the destruction of religion in Russia. 'I am only the executioner of the popular will,' it declares with astonishing hypocrisy.

It is, therefore, at the 'request,' the 'desire,' or even the 'demand' of the working class that churches are closed, ikons burned, and ministers of religion and laymen who oppose the anti-religious propaganda sent to concentration camps or even to prison. At the 'request' of the workers the cathedral of the monastery of Simonov at Moscow has been razed, and in response to the 'desire' of other workers the cathedral of Makeevka has been turned into a 'central cultural establishment.' In a town called Krasnaia Sverda the church has been turned into a cinema, and in another town the church has been turned into an atheists' club. 'At the demand' of the peasants the great Monastery of the Resurrection in the district of Louga has been definitely 'liquidated' and replaced by a '*kholkoz*' or agricultural colony. 'The plenary assembly of peasants' of a village called Krasnovo has decided to close the local church and turn it into a club.

Such are a few examples among thousands of the way in which the 'liquidation' of religious monuments is proceeding. Since it is impossible to bring indirect pressure to bear upon the peasants as easily as upon the town workers, the local Soviets frequently employ more direct methods. For example, the peasants on their return from work in the fields are shut up in some local building and given to understand that they will not be released until they sign a 'demand' for the closing of the local church. As a rule the peasants at first refuse to sign. But after twenty-four hours' detention, during which they are hourly visited by the authorities, they end by signing anything they are asked.

It is as the result of such methods that the people have demanded the public destruction of ikons, and that rivalry has even been aroused between different towns, villages, and factories to see which should bring the most ikons to the pyre in the market-place. The mine workers of Gorlovsky, for example, were specially mentioned in the public announcements of all the Soviet republics for having 'burned four thousand ikons in the presence of fifteen thousand workers.' It is with equal 'freedom' that the Russian people have demanded the organisation of the 'uninterrupted week,' the five-day week from which the very memory of Sunday is totally excluded. The workman or peasant who fails to work on the 'so-called Sunday' is liable to expulsion from his factory or land, and to a fine which is equivalent to the complete ruin or even the destruction of his family.

In closing the churches one after another on any pretext or none, in destroying the objects of worship, and in banishing priests or compelling them 'voluntarily' to resign their functions, the Government of the Soviets is preparing for the total suppression of religion—not merely the Orthodox religion, but religious confessions in general: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Moslem, and so on. There was a time when the Bolshevists strangely

favoured the Baptists and the Methodists,[1] hoping thanks to them to destroy positive doctrines, but now the wind has changed and they are spared no more than the others.

It is only necessary to invoke in this connection the testimony of the Rev. Paul Hutchinson, the American director of the *Christian Century*, published in the Episcopalian review *The Living Church* (No. 21, September 21, 1929): 'Serious punishment is inflicted upon those who try to help the enlightened Russians, whose souls are thirsting for religious contacts. It is difficult to write on this subject as one would wish. The very nature of the persecution increases the difficulty. To quote names of persons, places, dates, or meetings would be to expose those who live in Russia to terrible punishment. In many cases an allusion on my part would mean sentence of death for those who were recognised. But these facts are already known, and so are the numerous attacks upon all religious instruction, oral or written. It is also known that during the past year three hundred Baptist preachers have been imprisoned and five hundred churches closed.

'I am choosing my words with care when I say that a reign of terror has been inaugurated, the object of which is to root out the last vestiges of religious life in Russia. I have personal and first-hand documentation to prove that the Soviet Government is at present closing churches *en masse* and deporting—for no other crime than religious activity—hundreds and probably thousands of people without any public trial or defence, and often without allowing their families to know where they have been sent or of what they are accused. A new stream of exiles

[1] In its issue of April 1923, the Berlin organ of the 'Protestant missionaries' of Chicago and of their 'Russian Missionary Society,' *Der Freund Russlands*, published a long account by the inspector of missions, B. Goetze, of his recent tour of inspection in the Ukraine (February-March 1923). In it he joyfully described the progress of the *Stundister*, the baptism of some, and the conversion of others. 'I was able to appoint twenty-five new missionaries during my stay.'

is flowing regularly towards Siberia and Central Asia—exiles who have appeared before no public tribunal, and whose sole offence is that they have preached or practised a religion capable of withstanding the Soviet attacks.'

Such are the outlines of this struggle against God and religion in the U.S.S.R. which the Soviet rulers call the 'anti-religious front.' It is being perfected and intensified from year to year and from month to month. The time is already distant when the Bolshevists described religion as 'the opium of the people.' To-day, according to their definition—if I may be pardoned for repeating the blasphemy—it is 'the hired servant' of the 'Personified Evil' disguised under the name of God. It is no longer a question of repeating the famous summons of Karl Marx: 'Workers of the world, unite!' It is a question of giving effect to another summons: 'Atheists of the world, unite!' For, as the appeal of 'The Godless League' proclaims, 'our movement is not the movement of a narrow sect, but the advance guard of a mass of many millions of godless to be organised. We summon the Internationalist against God as against Capital.'[1]

To sum up: humanly speaking it would seem that the deformation of ideas and brains among the Russian people is without remedy. If one studies the statistics, however, it appears that the number of active militants is still very small. In November 1929 they admitted themselves that they mustered only six hundred thousand, adults and children, in the whole Soviet territory. In the early months of 1930 the Soviet Press claimed that the number had risen to two million five hundred thousand. If one sets this latter figure against the figure of the total population of the U.S.S.R.—some hundred and fifty million people—one may infer that the number of active atheists is hardly terrifying.

What is terrifying, however, is the passivity and even the complaisance with which the people have permitted

[1] *Antireligioznik*, No. 7, July 1929.

a tiny minority to make themselves their masters. That, certainly, is not of good augury; but at the same time we need not despair of a people who dwell in 'the land of infinite possibilities,' as it has become the custom to call Russia—at least that of yesterday.

CHAPTER IX

LITURGY AND CHURCH MUSIC

I

A WESTERNER present for the first time at a celebration of the Liturgy in a Russian church would at the outset be struck, especially if it were a pontifical Mass, by all its accompaniment of magnificent pomp and ritual display, and also by its intense archaism. It is only much later, when he had become familiar with the external aspect of this religious ceremony, that he would be able to savour its mysticism, comprehend the symbolism which is hidden within it, and appreciate the spirit of humility and devotion on which it is based. Then, but only then, he would no longer be distracted by the ordering and the ornamentation of the church. His ear would have become accustomed to the sometimes excessive clamour of the deacon, engaged in an interminable dialogue with the choir, and in the prodigious polyphony of sounds, of colours, and of movements which marks the Russo-Byzantine ritual he would cease to see merely a manifestation of Oriental piety.

It is quite natural that the ordering and ornamentation of a Russian church, as well as the archaism of the religious ceremonies which are celebrated there, should be a matter of astonishment to a European, for there exists nothing similar in the West. In their structure and in their interior arrangement the Russian churches derive from the primitive churches, which had a close analogy with the Jewish synagogues. Like them, they

are divided into three parts : the apse, the parvis (which is called *ambon*, and in Roman churches has been replaced by the rood-loft), and the nave. The steps which give access to the altar are called *solea*.

The sanctuary contains the tabernacle. On the altar, which is always square and faces towards the East, in commemoration of the star announcing the coming of the Saviour which showed itself in the East, repose the Gospel, the Cross, and the chalices. The Missal, which is not a consecrated book, is placed on a reading-stand to the left of the officiant. Among the sacred objects which are only to be found in the Eastern rite, and therefore in the Russian churches, may be mentioned the *antimension*, the consecrated cloth containing relics and covering a part of the altar ; the small knife which symbolises the spear which pierced the side of our Lord and is used for extracting from the Communion bread symbolising the Virgin the particle representing the Lamb of God ; the sponge which commemorates that of the Crucifixion and is used to purify the hands of the priests and the sacred vessels ; and finally the Cross (*zverditsa*), a convex cross which, placed upon the paten, protects the particles from any contact. Hanging from its centre it has a star, representing the Star of Bethlehem.

The sanctuary is separated from the nave by the royal door (*tsarakaia vrata*) and a screen ornamented with holy images which is called *ikonostasis*. This is pierced by two side doors. The royal door has a curtain of mauve silk which is drawn before the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, after the deacon has bidden catechumens to leave the church.[1] Any lay Christian, women excepted,

[1] The words spoken by the deacon on this occasion are as follows : *Izyde oglachennye ! Oglachennye izyde !* (Ye who are catechumens, withdraw ! Withdraw, catechumens !) This peculiarity of the Byzantine-Slav Mass is a reminder of the earliest years of Christianity, when, in view of the number of pagans who were converted to the faith of Christ, it was not thought

is admitted to the sanctuary. He must not pass between the royal door and the altar, however, but must always go round. The deacon himself may pass through the royal door only when bearing the Gospel. Finally—a significant detail—there are no seats in the church; all the faithful, as in the time of primitive Christianity, must remain standing.

So much for the ordering of the Russian churches; and it may be said that the religious ceremonies which are celebrated there are almost of the same age as the plan according to which this interior arrangement was conceived. The Russian Church is acquainted with and celebrates only three liturgies. The first two are those of Saint Basil the Great and of Saint John Chrysostom; the third, called 'Liturgy of the Presanctified' (analogous with the Catholic liturgy of Good Friday), is celebrated throughout Lent except on Saturdays and Sundays.

A very old tradition declares that the first elements of the liturgy were assembled by the Apostle James (for the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch) and by the Apostle Mark (for the churches of Egypt). The liturgy of Saint Basil (fourth century) is a revision, an abbreviation, and a rearrangement of the Mass which was celebrated in the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, and which was attributed to the Apostle James. The liturgy of Basil was in its turn revised and shortened (principally by the omission of a certain number of Eucharistic prayers) by Saint John Chrysostom.

Neither the liturgy of Saint Basil nor that of Saint John Chrysostom has come down to us in its original form. The Mass of Saint Basil was soon adopted throughout Roman Asia, whence it passed to the Copts of Egypt, and later to Abyssinia. Translated into the languages of these different countries, it was enriched by a considerable

fitting that those of them who were but recently initiated into its doctrines should be present at the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, of which they might not understand the meaning.

number of prayers which did not figure in its primitive version. The Mass of Saint John Chrysostom,[1] a revision of one of the liturgies of the Palestinian type, was adopted by the Russian Church in the so-called Constantinople version attributed to the Patriarch Philotheus (fourteenth century). In the course of centuries it underwent in Russia only unimportant modifications, and may accordingly be regarded as the type of the Eastern liturgy.

While the liturgy of Basil is only celebrated in Russia ten times a year—the first five Sundays of Lent, Ash Wednesday, Easter Eve, the eves of the Nativity of our Lord and of the Epiphany, and finally on January 1 (the festival of Saint Basil)—the Mass of Saint John Chrysostom is celebrated all the other days of the year, with the exception of Holy Week. The liturgy of John Chrysostom is made up of two entirely distinct parts.[2] The first, which in fact is only the preliminary part, is called 'liturgy of the catechumens' (*litourgia oglachennykh*) and accordingly makes no reference to the essential part of the Mass, the Consecration. Its features are first the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel, and then long

[1] The liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom is to be found in Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Vol. LXIII, col. 90 *et seq.*

[2] The Byzantine-Slav liturgy is preceded by the material preparation for the Mass and by the offertory prayers (*proskomidia*) which are said in a low voice behind the *ikonostasis*. All this preparatory part takes place at the little altar of the prothesis or of offering to the left of the high altar. It is at this altar—on which burn two candles and on which are placed the chalice, the paten (*diskos*), the *zvezditsa*, the holy spear, the liturgical sponge, the veils, the vases containing the wine and water, and finally the Communion breads (*prosphorae*)—that the preparation of the sacrificial material, that is to say the cutting of the *prosphorae* and the extraction of the triangular particles which are used for the Holy Sacrament, is made. There are five kinds of Communion bread—the bread of Jesus Christ, that of the Virgin, that of the saints, the bread of the living, and the bread of the dead. The bread of Jesus Christ is cut up entirely; from the others a triangle is extracted from the upper part. In the time of the Emperors the bread of the living was cut into as many pieces as there were members of the Imperial family. The bread of Jesus Christ is distributed in small pieces to the congregation; the others are given whole to the privileged.

litanies of which the most beautiful is the moving prayer (*velikaia ektenia*) ' for the peace of the whole world, for the prosperity of the Holy Churches of God and the union of all.' Finally come the prayers for the catechumens, followed by their withdrawal, which is demanded, as we have seen above, in a very archaic formula.

The second part of the Mass is called ' liturgy of the faithful ' (*velikaia vernykh*). It opens, after a few words by the officiant, with the mystic chant of the ' Hymn of the Cherubim ' (*Kherouvimskaia*). Then comes the ' great entrance ' (*velikyi vykhod*), the procession bearing to the altar the paten with the particles to be consecrated, covered with a veil which symbolises the holy shroud, and the chalice filled with wine and water. Next follow the singing of the *Credo*, the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, the hymn of the Blessed Virgin, the *Pater*, and the Communion.[1]

The liturgy which is identical in the two Churches, in the Church of the East as in that of the West, is the ' missa praesanctificatorum ' (*litourgia prejdeosviashtchtennikh darov*). It is also known in Russia, for no very obvious reason, as the ' liturgy of Saint Gregory the Great.' Its origin in any case is very ancient ; its Asiatic ordering is attributed to Saint Basil. In 615 it was enriched by the hymn celebrated throughout the Eastern Church : *Nyne sily nebesnya snami nevidimo sloujat* (At this moment the invisible heavenly powers unite their prayers to ours). The Patriarch Saint Germanus and the Patriarch Philotheus (fourteenth century) in turn revised the Mass of the Presanctified for the Eastern Church. In the West it appeared in Latin manuscripts of the eighth

[1] Communion in the Russian Church, as for that matter in all the Eastern Churches, is made in both kinds. The celebration of the Eucharist is always preceded by a prayer (*epiclesis*) by the officiant invoking the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the sacraments offered. (' We offer Thee the act of adoration which is said and done without shedding of blood, and we call upon Thee and we invoke Thee and we supplicate Thee to make Thy Holy Spirit descend upon us and upon the offerings made before Thee.')

century,[1] and is prescribed for Good Friday. But only the Roman Church continues in our time to conform to this prescription. The Church of Constantinople, and consequently the Russian Church, abandoned the old usage, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, in favour of the celebration of the 'Liturgy of the Presanctified' three times a week throughout Lent.

The evening service, called in Russia *Vsenoshtchnoie bdenie*, literally 'the night vigil,' is a peculiarity of the Russo-Byzantine Church. It is celebrated on the eve of Sundays and holy days. It consists usually of Vespers (*vetchernia*) and of Matins (*outrenia*), or of great Vespers (*velikoie povetcherie*) and Matins, which were originally linked by the reading of passages from the *Synaxarius*, the Acts of the Apostles, and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. Nowadays the *vsenoshtchnaia* consists only of the essentials of Vespers and Matins, and the Acts and the writings are no longer read. Moreover, the vigil—that is to say the prolongation of the service from evening until dawn—is only practised to-day in some monasteries subject to a very strict rule.[2]

II

Since singing has always played a large part in the celebration of worship in Russia we should give it the attention which it deserves. The first choristers of the Church in Russia were brought to Kiev by the Grand Prince Vladimir at the same time as the Greek priests charged with the conversion of the Russians. A little later others came direct from Constantinople, in the train of the Princess Anne, Vladimir's betrothed. In other words, the young Russian Church was endowed from the outset

[1] Thibaut, *Origines de la Messe des Présanctifiés*, 'Echos d'Orient,' January-March 1920.

[2] Maltzew, *Die Nachtwache oder Abend- und Morgengotterdienst der orthodox-katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes*, Berlin, 1892.

with a liturgical chant already fully developed, and this chant was in origin and composition entirely Byzantine.

But the seed fell upon good ground, for the pupils had soon little or nothing to learn from their masters. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Greeks were still teaching the Russians the subtleties and niceties of the system of eight 'harmonies' (*glass*) which form the basis of the Russian liturgical chant. A few decades later the Russians were already composing *stitchery* (hymns of praise) on the occasion of the transfer of the relics of Saint Nicholas to Bari (1087), in honour of Saint Theodosius of Petchersk (1095), and of the Saints Boris and Gleb (1108).

The annotation of the old chant books was made by means of signs called 'tokens' (*znamena*) or 'posts' (*stolpy*) at the outset, and later 'crochets' (*kriuki*) or 'tokens in crochets' (*kriukovia znamena*), which, like the Latin '*neums*,' were placed directly above the text without any alignment. This method of musical writing persisted in Russia until the end of the fourteenth century, together with the melody which this notation was intended to translate.[1] After that the purity of the 'chant in crochets' was seriously affected by the introduction of themes entirely foreign to its musical direction. Nevertheless, even despite the strong competition of the Greek, Bulgar, and Kievian cantilena in the seventeenth century, the notation in crochets was still preserved for a long time in certain monasteries and remains in use at the present day among different communities of 'old believers' (*starovery*).

The 'Kievian chant' (*kievsckyi raspev*) was formed by the absorption of melodies originating in Galicia and Volhynia, and was also influenced to some extent by the Greek and Bulgar schools. It was harmonised by the Orthodox religious brotherhoods of South-West Russia

[1] Smolenskyi, *O drevne-rousskikh pevcheskikh notaziakh* (The Old Russian Vocal Notations), Saint-Petersburg, 1901.

at the end of the sixteenth and in the course of the seventeenth centuries. Thence it passed to Moscow, and was soon given the freedom of the city, thanks to its brevity, its simplicity, and its adaptability to any religious ceremony whatever. It was, in short, a master-chant.

At about the same period (seventeenth century) the neo-Greek melody became known in Russia. It reached there through the medium of the Southern Slavs, thanks to the Greek liturgical books which were bought on a large scale on the initiative of the Patriarch Nikon, and directly in the persons of Greek choristers who went to Moscow. In the same way as the Kievian chant, the Greek chant was quickly adopted by the Russian Church, which found it extremely serviceable for the interpretation of the *troparia*, *contakia*, and *irmoi* of Sunday, and in general for all the chants of holy days and occasions of great solemnity. It may be noted that the Greek chant, like that which came from Kiev, was generally written in accordance with square or round notation.

It was their anxiety to oppose to the chant of the Latin and Uniate Churches a more spacious and sustained, in short a polyphonic, chant which induced the religious brotherhoods of South-West Russia in the seventeenth century to harmonise the sacred melodies of the Russian Church and definitely abandon the old form of unison. Their first attempts were made with local melodies and with single-voice chants borrowed from the Greeks and the Southern Slavs. The continuous relations which were maintained by the religious brotherhoods with the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos also played their part in these attempts at harmonising the liturgical chant. A considerable number of canticles and hymns of the musical school of South-West Russia reveal an Athos origin. But the harmonic chant (*partesnoie penie*) of the South-West, though it had formerly a certain influence in Russia, is now no more than a forgotten historical

monument. Even in the musical collections published by the Synodal school of Moscow it is given only a very small space.

The Muscovite harmonic chant was especially the work of local composers and theorists. A great impulse was given to it by the celebrated Patriarch Nikon. In 1667 the choristers of the Patriarchal palace, in two united choirs, executed for the first time the chant of *zbrannyi voevode* for three voices. From the end of the eighteenth century Moscow had within its walls a considerable number of specialists learned in the polyphonic chant, such as the deacon Johannes Koronev, author of a theoretical work on sacred music (*Mousikia*); the monk Tikhon Makarievsky; and the Tsar's choir-master, Vassili Titov, composer of the music of numerous psalms and of a great 'prayer for long life' (*bolchoie mnogoletie*), which was still sung in modern times.

In most of the choral works of the Russian seventeenth century it was the tenor, and a little later the alto, who led the choir; the other voices only supported him with a very simple harmonic accompaniment. There were also, however, certain sacred chants in which the principal theme was entrusted to shrill voices in sixths or else to medium voices in thirds. Church chanting reached this stage of development at the threshold of the eighteenth century, and remained there until the middle of that century, when its earlier forms were pushed into the background by the works of certain Italian musicians who then arrived in Russia.

Italian influence upon the Russian liturgical chant was extremely strong and no less lasting. It is true that Zoppis, conductor of the orchestra of the Locatelli Theater and professor at the school of the Court choristers, left few traces of his passage. On the other hand, Giuseppe Sarti and Baldassare Galuppi exercised a real influence, and were the exclusive masters of a whole generation of Russian musicians, beginning with Bere-

zovsky and especially Bortniansky (1752–1825) whose works of sacred music, especially his *Kherouvimskaia* (Hymn of the Cherubims), were imitated and copied during the greater part of the nineteenth century.[1]

During his lifetime, as might have been expected, he enjoyed great popularity. Public taste was at this period so far perverted that people listened without blenching to laborious adjustments of certain Italian operas to sacred texts—such, for example, as the adaptation of the chief air of the priest from Spontini's opera, *The Vestal Virgin*, to the words of the sacred hymn : 'Lord, we salute Thee' (*Tebe poiem*) ; or the adaptation of the music of one of the choirs in Haydn's oratorio, *The Creation of the World*, to the words of the 'Hymn of the Cherubims.'

The first attempt, and this was timid enough, to react against the Italian influence which had seized hold upon the Russian liturgical chant was made in the first half of the last century by one Tourtchaninov ; but the real initiator of the renaissance of sacred music was Michael Glinka, who never wearied of insisting that the harmonisation of the old sacred melodies, as well as original works written to be sung during divine service, ought to be based upon the old 'modes' of the Church, and not upon the major or minor scales of European music. Glinka, in short, wished to restore to the liturgical chant its diatonic character, and thereby to restore it to the national tradition. Unhappily a premature death interrupted his fine work for the restoration of sacred music.

The harmonisation of the old sacred melodies was continued by Balakirev (*Vsenoshtchnoie bdenie drevnikh napevov*, 1887) and also by Rimsky-Korsakov, in rather too fantastic and pictorial a manner. The last of the Russian musicians who devoted himself to it, with quite remarkable taste, knowledge, and conscientiousness, was

[1] Lebedev, *Berezovskyi i Bortnianskyi kak kompository zerkovnago penia*, Saint-Petersburg, 1882.

Kastalsky. What has become of his work in the midst of the general disorder in Russia is not known. Abroad, all that is heard of the Russian liturgical chant is the more or less mediocre execution of the works of Vinogradov or Gretchaninov, poor things without style or inspiration.

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The Mayflower Press, Plymouth.
William Brendon & Son, Ltd.

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